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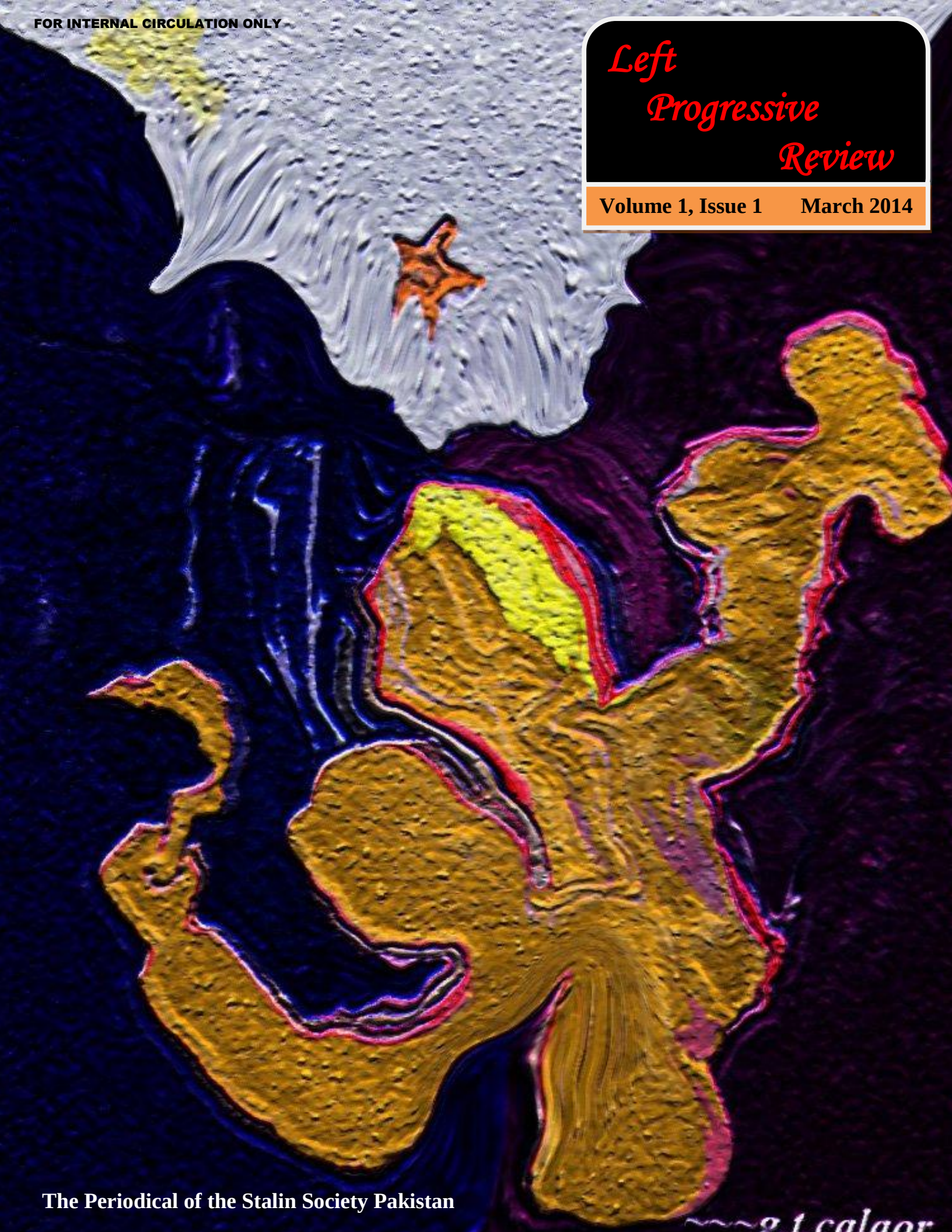

The Periodical of the Stalin Society Pakistan

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# Left Progressive Review

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# "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question": A Guidebook to Liberation from Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism Worldwide

David Romptl

**Introduction**

Joseph Stalin has played an integral role in the liberation of nations from colonial domination and imperialist exploitation and aggression worldwide. The theories and strategies, and the example in practice, of Joseph Stalin, have directly led to many socialist revolutions, national liberation movements, anti-colonial and independence movements, and the removal of Africa, Asia, and Latin America from the grips of the old colonial system. Of course, world capitalism has fought back: a neocolonial system uses local capitalists' greed for power and wealth to betray their countries' independence and give true political and economic control back to colonial masters and Western capitalist powers in general. Brutal, barbaric imperialist war is used against any countries that assert their true sovereignty, and the threat of such bloody paternalism is ever-present for all countries on Earth. The slightest wrong move, like expelling a particularly abusive Western corporation, or nationalizing an industry to provide for some needs of an impoverished local population, are grounds enough for the CIA and US military to topple the government they call a "friend" in a massacre meant to be terrorism of a level so dramatic as to intend to not allow anyone at all to summon the courage to oppose the imperialist's total domination any time soon. There is a way to resist and defeat this imperialist monster though, and significantly weaken the capitalist class that terrorizes the nations of the Earth, and a great part of the strategy for achieving this lies in the work, "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question" (the title of the book sometimes varies slightly due to translation), and his elaborations upon this work, and its application to the multi-national Soviet Union, by Joseph Stalin.

**Chapter 1**

Following the lead of Stalin's policies for anti-imperialism and expelling imperialist aggressors so the proletariat may fully come to the lead of the lead of the national struggle, and turn it fully to proletarian revolution, recent anti-imperialist leaders and governments have set about the task of forming multi-national blocs to more effectively resist and challenge imperialist aggression and neocolonial exploitation in their regions, which would cut off resources to the imperialists, and seriously weaken the influence in the world of the Western capitalist imperialists, also dividing the world capitalist class where anti-imperialist nations remain bourgeois or petit-bourgeois, thus weakening the ties of the worldwide capitalist class, freeing the proletariat greatly to more effectively carry out socialist revolution in those countries asserting their sovereignty against imperialism. If those bourgeois loyal to imperialism can be defeated, and the national bourgeoisie seeking independence allied with, this national bourgeoisie can be more easily defeated by the proletariat once imperialism is expelled and the country achieves more full independence. One can see this national process playing out in Zimbabwe and Venezuela, and see this as the route that is being worked to achieve by Communists in South Africa, exactly as Stalin prescribes, with the proletariat rising to take the lead all the more as imperialism is extricated from the country and the national bourgeoisie siding with imperialism is systematically defeated, step by step. [1]

**Chapter 2**

Anti-imperialist leaders and countries are proposing united anti-imperialist blocs--even multi-country or multi-national countries to both protect those nations who have already asserted their sovereignty, either through socialist revolution or a proletarian and petit-bourgeois alliance, and also to bring neighboring countries targeted by colonial and imperialist exploitation and brutality firmly into the anti-imperialist camp, isolating and dividing the imperialist capitalist powers greatly. One example in the past of such an anti-imperialist bloc was the United Arab Republic. Two current examples, one being built up and the other strongly advocated, are UNASUR (the Union of South American Nations), which was conceived to combat imperialism in Latin America and has taken concrete steps to do so, and the United States of Africa, with origins in the ideas of revolutionaries like Lumumba, Nkrumah, and most concretely recently, Gaddhafi. Moammar Gaddhafi was advocating strongly across Africa for an anti-imperialist United States of Africa to throw out and keep out all imperialist economic exploitation and military intervention in Africa. His effort gained the support of Presidents Nelson Mandela and Jacob Zuma of South Africa and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe [2], who has most vocally taken up this effort after the murder of Gaddhafi by the imperialists and their Islamist terrorist stooges who now jointly run the brutal, violent, and crumbling post-Gaddhafi Libya, as Western oil companies

bleed the prosperous country of its wealth as the local Islamists terrorize, murder and rape the population with impunity granted by the Western masters (and this was a "humanitarian" war according to the imperialists' criminal propaganda). These developments are regarded by the imperialists as a serious threat, that they know can lead to the defeat of not only the systems, neo-colonialism and imperialism, but also the system of capitalism altogether, and it indeed this is such a grave threat to imperialism and capitalism, and a huge opportunity for the worlds exploited masses to achieve liberation and throw off the shackles of brutal, well-armed foreign imperialism, and then their domestic bourgeoisie. [3]

**Chapter 3**

Gaddhafi played a key role in forming the African Union, but this body has too often taken a sectarian role in ethnic conflicts, and too often taken the role of an imperialist puppet. This is why a truly independent African bloc--one that is explicitly anti-imperialist, is necessary. Here is a typical imperialist response to this, appearing sympathetic, but trying to destroy any chance for the sovereignty of any country at all, let alone a united bloc of sovereign nations, and also playing up ethnic divisions unsolvable by capitalism, but which united mutual respect for sovereignty, as called for by Stalin, would solve, and has solved where put into practice in multi-ethnic, multi-national states such as the Soviet Union and China, where cultural and language distinctions are ensured at the same time as economic and voluntary political integration, which has erased centuries old ethnic conflicts and brought ethnicities together in cooperation for mutual interests and mutual benefit. Richard Dowden, director of the Royal African Society, said: "The idea that one government could rule the whole of Africa at this stage is silly and unworkable. They need to build from the bottom economically rather than imposing a notion of unity from the top down; it's absurd.

"It is a dream of totalitarian fantasists, not the people. Africa is becoming increasingly local. I'm in Kenya at the moment and the forthcoming election is all about ethnic arithmetic." [4] From the author of the same article as the previous quote, "There is a case for challenging borders that were drawn up by European imperialists and which continue to inhibit travel and trade. But critics say the notion of uniting 54 countries with their thousands of languages and ethnicities is currently untenable. In fact some parts of Africa have been moving in the opposite direction and seeking local autonomy. Economies are moving at very different speeds." The sympathetic tone (implying that imperialism is long in the past) brings up concerns precisely solved in theory and practice by Joseph Stalin! [4] Here is Stalin first addressing the division and incitement of ethnicity against ethnicity, and then of nation against nation: '"Divide and rule" – such is the purpose of the policy of incitement. And where such a policy succeeds, it is a tremendous evil for the proletariat and a serious obstacle to the cause of uniting the workers of all the nationalities in the state.

But the workers are interested in the complete amalgamation of all their fellow-workers into a single international army, in their speedy and final emancipation from intellectual bondage to the bourgeoisie, and in the full and free development of the intellectual forces of their brothers and sisters, whatever nation they may belong to.

The workers therefore combat and will continue to combat the policy of national oppression in all its forms, from the most subtle to the most crude, as well as the policy of inciting nations against each other in all its forms. Social-Democracy [Communism - author] in all countries therefore proclaims the right of nations to self-determination. [5]

**Chapter 4**

Honest Communists will question, and idealists and dogmatists will scream and accuse indignantly, 'Why will revolutionary communists support means of liberation from imperialism that are not immediately socialist? Why advocate for an anti-imperialist bloc of nations, or support an anti-imperialist nation, that isn't socialist and was not formed by proletarian revolution? These questions are best answered by V. I. Lenin's greatest student, Stalin: "The same must be said of self-determination. Nations have a right to arrange their affairs as they please; they have a right to preserve any of their national institutions, whether beneficial or harmful – nobody can (nobody has a right to!) forcibly interfere in the life of a nation. But that does not mean that Social-Democracy will not combat and agitate against the harmful institutions of nations and against the inexpedient demands of nations. On the contrary, it is the duty of Social-Democracy to conduct such agitation and to endeavour to influence the will of nations so that the nations may arrange their affairs in the way that will best correspond to the interests of the proletariat. For this reason Social-Democracy, while fighting for the right of nations to self-determination, will at the same time agitate, for instance, against the secession of the Tatars, or against cultural-national autonomy for the Caucasian nations; for both, while not contradicting the rights of these nations, do contradict "the precise meaning" of the programme, i.e., the interests of the Caucasian proletariat.

Obviously, "the rights of nations" and the "precise meaning" of the programme are on two entirely different planes. Whereas the "precise meaning" of the programme expresses the interests of the proletariat, as scientifically formulated in the programme of the latter, the rights of nations may express the interests of any class – bourgeoisie, aristocracy, clergy, etc. –

depending on the strength and influence of these classes. On the one hand are the duties of Marxists, on the other the rights of nations, which consist of various classes. The rights of nations and the principles of Social-Democracy may or may not "contradict" each other, just as, say, the pyramid of Cheops may or may not contradict the famous conference of the Liquidators. They are simply not comparable."

"The right of self-determination means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny, that no one has the right forcibly to interfere in the life of the nation, to destroy its schools and other institutions, to violate its habits and customs, to repress its language, or curtail its rights.

This, of course, does not mean that Social-Democracy will support every custom and institution of a nation. While combating the coercion of any nation, it will uphold only the right of the nation itself to determine its own destiny, at the same time agitating against harmful customs and institutions of that nation in order to enable the toiling strata of the nation to emancipate themselves from them.

The right of self-determination means that a nation may arrange its life in the way it wishes. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign, and all nations have equal rights.

This, of course, does not mean that Social-Democracy will support every demand of a nation. A nation has the right even to return to the old order of things; but this does not mean that Social-Democracy will subscribe to such a decision if taken by some institution of a particular nation. The obligations of Social-Democracy, which defends the interests of the proletariat, and the rights of a nation, which consists of various classes, are two different things.

In fighting for the right of nations to self-determination, the aim of Social-Democracy is to put an end to the policy of national oppression, to render it impossible, and thereby to remove the grounds of strife between nations, to take the edge off that strife and reduce it to a minimum.

This is what essentially distinguishes the policy of the class-conscious proletariat from the policy of the bourgeoisie, which attempts to aggravate and fan the national struggle and to prolong and sharpen the national movement." [5]

It is clear over and over through the history of the imperialist epoch, that the imperialists "hypocritically prate about self-determination but who are striving to keep the unequal peoples and colonies in subjection, to retain them within the framework of their imperialist state, and thereby intensifies the struggle for liberation that these nations and colonies are waging against imperialism." [6] For communists to call for true self-determination: complete secession, and no interference from other nations, "tears the mask from the imperialists," [6] and exposes their true intentions to keep nations in neocolonial subjugation and exploit their resources, feeding capitalist profits while impoverishing and starving the hard working people of the wealthy but made-poor-by-exploitation nation. Communists must always guarantee this true self-determination, with the right of secession, which "removes all grounds for suspicion that the toilers of one nation entertain predatory designs against the toilers of another nation, and therefore creates a basis for mutual confidence and voluntary union." [6]

Here then, is laid out is why this national liberation and extrication from the imperialist system, directly affects and benefits proletarian revolution, both in exploited nations freeing themselves from imperialist and neocolonial domination, and in the imperialist nations: "The imperialist war has shown, and the revolutionary experience of recent years has again confirmed that :

1) the national and colonial questions are inseparable from the question of emancipation from the rule of capital;

2) imperialism (the highest form of capitalism) cannot exist without the political and economic enslavement of the unequal nations and colonies;

3) the unequal nations and colonies cannot be liberated without overthrowing the rule of capital;

4) the victory of the proletariat cannot be lasting without the liberation of the unequal nations and colonies from the yoke of imperialism.

If Europe and America may be called the front or the arena of the major battles between socialism and imperialism, the unequal nations and the colonies, with their raw materials, fuel, food and vast store of man-power, must be regarded as the rear, the reserve of imperialism. To win a war it is necessary not only to triumph at the front, but also to revolutionise the enemy's rear, his

reserves. Hence, the victory of the world proletarian revolution may be regarded as assured only if the proletariat is able to combine its own revolutionary struggle with the liberation movement of the labouring masses of the unequal nations and the colonies against the rule of the imperialists and for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This "trifle" was overlooked by the leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, who divorced the national and colonial question from the question of power in the epoch of growing proletarian revolution in the West." [6]

Hence, it is betraying proletarian revolution itself and severely weakening its chances for success to idealistically oppose national liberation that is not a direct and immediate socialist revolution. This is one major why Trotskyism is and always will be completely ineffectual in effecting a revolution, even if that deviation were ever to attract enough workers to attempt that. They would be sure to leave in place the vast system of resources and vassal governments that the capitalists can call upon to support their moves to crush a revolution, and but for their idealistic slogans about international revolution, would have built no concrete international ties between oppressed peoples that would support their revolution, as many non-socialist anti-imperialist nation vitally support socialist revolutions such as those of Cuba and Vietnam not because their governments support socialism, but because communists supported and always will support their own national self-determination, unlike the imperialists, and will not invade them to impose any "preferred" system, also unlike the imperialists. This policy will continue to deprive the capitalists of resources and isolate them politically more and more, making revolution against capitalism much easier for the proletariat in any nation.

**Chapter 5**

There is a very long list of nations that have been subject to imperialist invasion: that have been literally torn apart in this campaign to "divide and conquer" put into action. Not uncommonly, these nations were once called "friends" by the imperialist powers who invaded them with such brutality. And the nation's resistance and unity--and that of the working class, which could use such an invasion to unite all around proletarian revolution--are decimated by any blood-soaked means necessary: ethnic and sectarian divisions being opened up being a favorite of the imperialists. A multi-ethnic nation that has lived harmoniously for so long is induced to set its people against each other, in quite a skillfully manipulative way: the imperialists having so much practice at this. Usually the first moves towards this blood-stained division involve copying the phrases of communists, though certainly not copying the essence of communists' ideas. Local leaders and political parties and religious groups loyal to imperialism are induced to make a big deal of "rights" for separate facilities and institutions for certain ethnic and sectarian groups. Going beyond true rights to exercise their own language, beliefs, and culture, segregation according to these is demanded. Also, "regional autonomy" or even "independence" is demanded for certain segments of the population. Of course, this capitalist version of the rights guaranteed by communists is quite different: either autonomy on the basis of ethnic or sectarian segregation is proposed, and this "autonomy" is not any sort of national independence, or any actual secession and split of the country ensures imperialist domination: which is in no way national independence, when a foreign power of greedy elites runs your country from afar with no regard for the will of the nation's people! Iraq was once considered a "friend" of the US and imperialist West--and this is something that is very dangerous to be! They were courted because of their disputes with Iran, which the US sought to destroy, after failing to secure a puppet regime there after its long history of military and political intervention, militarily destroying any instances of the will of the Iranian people being realized, [7] and destroying in a massacre the government that dared to nationalize the nation's oil. Whether colonialism or neocolonialism: imperialism uses mass death as its means of pursuing profits and dominating and exploiting all nations and the whole world! In 2003, US invaded Iraq accusing it of having 'Weapons of Mass Destructions,' which was simply a lie used to dilute the possible resistance from the people of the US and the world against the US' imperialist ambitions. The true reasons for wars conducted by the capitalists are seldom, if ever, given. Elaborated, multi-layered lies are the constant theme in the "justifications" given for imperialist wars. The latest headline from Iraq in the US is: "U.S. war gains in Iraq now lost or threatened." [8] That statement alone admits that all the meddling and invasion has gotten the US nowhere other than a list of millions more dead victims and a trickle of the oil that is worth so many lives to the imperialist monster. Yet, being a US propaganda piece, the article tries to justify the intentions and decision to invade itself, and also claims that Iraq was in recent years since the invasion, a "model democracy," which shows how removed from reality the propaganda of the imperialists is. Iraq was a multi-ethnic nation united and freed of any ethnic conflict by an anti-imperialist policy of national self-determination straight from the guide-book of Stalin. With no ethnic divisions or imperialist domination, the Iraqi proletariat could unite and move their nation on from its nationalistic petit bourgeois socialism to proletarian revolution. But now the imperialists, with military invasion coupled with inciting ethnic and sectarian conflict, have torn apart the working class and the nation, leaving it open to domination by rival sectarian leaders and foreign control, and are stealing the nation's oil--the West's only interest in the Middle East, with any number of human lives subordinated to dominating and exploiting oil--though destroying the whole infrastructure of the nation has meant lower oil outputs than hoped--but still, any oil is now going to feed the imperialist war machine, and not to bring the slightest good to the Iraqi people, terrorized the imperialists and the Islamist terrorists who always seem to show up and operate freely wherever the imperialists invade, as if that were some coincidence. Iraq will find liberation by following the programme of Stalin, uniting as a nation across ethnic and sectarian lines for the common good of all, and throwing off all imperialist intervention in the country, and that of any stooges installed by imperialism or working for them. The path of ethnic division or letting Islamist terrorists win will result in imperialism still dominating. Only in Marxism-Leninism, expounded fully by Stalin, is the true path to national liberation and freedom from exploitation and war found!

**Chapter 6**

What can communists and Communist Parties do to weaken world imperialism and world capitalism, and advance the oppressed peoples of the world towards proletarian revolution? Besides building up local parties to organize the advanced elements of the proletariat and taking actions against the local bourgeoisie, to inflict losses on them, to make gains for the proletariat, and to expose their gross exploitation and the systems and policies of injustice and oppression that prop up that exploitation, Communist Parties in capitalist nations can in large part follow the program of the Bolshevik Party in power, as outlined by Stalin:

"The Party's tasks in this period in the sphere of foreign policy are determined by its position as the party of international revolution. These tasks are:

1) To utilize all the contradictions and conflicts among the capitalist groups and governments which surround our country, with the object of disintegrating imperialism.

2) To stint no forces and resources to assist the proletarian revolution in the West.

3) To take all measures to strengthen the national-liberation movement in the East.

4) To strengthen the Red Army." [9]

Indeed, it is this national policy which assured the success of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and failure to adopt a true program in favor of national liberation and self determination for other nations, including non-socialist nations, could be the doom of other socialist revolutions: "Needless to say, the Russian workers who came to power would not have been able to win the sympathy and confidence of their comrades of other nations, and above all of the oppressed masses of the unequal nations, had they not proved in practice their willingness to carry out such a national policy, had they not renounced their "right" to Finland, had they not withdrawn their troops from Northern Persia, had they not renounced the claims of the Russian imperialists to certain regions of Mongolia and China, and had they not assisted the backward nations of the former Russian Empire to develop their culture and statehood in their own languages. That confidence alone could serve as the basis for that indestructible union of the peoples of the R.S.F.S.R., against which all "diplomatic" machinations and carefully executed "blockades" have proved impotent.

More than that the Russian workers could not have defeated Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel had they not enjoyed the sympathy and confidence of the oppressed masses of the border regions of former Russia. It must not be forgotten that the field of action of these mutinous generals was limited to border regions inhabited mainly by non-Russian nations, and the latter could not but hate Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel for their imperialist policy and policy of Russification. The Entente, which intervened and supported these generals, could rely only on those elements in the border regions which were the vehicles of Russification. That served only to inflame the hatred of the people of the border regions for the mutinous generals and increased their sympathy for the Soviet power." [6]

The national policy of self determination won the communists the support of the many nations within what would become the Soviet Union, and the support of oppresses peoples of other nations, and this directly spurred not only many national liberation movements, but many communist movements and Parties, many of which came to bring socialist revolution to their nations after long-fought national liberation struggles against foreign imperialists and local capitalists backing the imperialist system.

**Chapter 7**

Anti-imperialist countries and anti-imperialist blocs of nations also assist greatly in accomplishing the aims of communists in the efforts to weaken imperialism to make socialist revolution possible when the workers are ready to rise against capitalism. Such nations and blocs have, and current ones are: assisting proletarian movements financially and materially, as well as politically on the world stage, since our enemy is common; dividing the imperialists and causing divisions and conflicts between imperialist nations; spreading the national-liberation movement and helping other nations emulate their own anti-imperialist struggle; and amassing armies to counterweight, and sometimes to directly engage imperialist armies, which weakens the imperialists and greatly hinders many actions by them. It is hard to see any anti-capitalist opposing such developments, though this is what "left"-deviationists like Trotskyists do, denouncing anti-imperialists far more viciously than they do the

capitalists and imperialist powers, and supporting imperialist campaigns to invade anti-imperialist countries. This only isolates these dogmatists from the world's oppressed peoples, who see their great treachery, and who see that true communists stood with them in their struggles for liberation.

The world's struggle against the imperialist invasion of Syria is one massive, indeed historic, example of victory over imperialist ambitions. Thanks to a united anti-imperialist movement in all nations on Earth. The unity of communists, anti-imperialists, and the many people rallied by them, as well as of all nations who support true national self-determination was able to stop the USA and NATO from launching a war they unquestionably wanted to, against a proud nation that despite its unity and strength, would be no match for the imperialist armies, and even if it would resist over the long-term and emerge victorious, it's people would be massacred on a genocidal scale by the imperialist bombs, chemicals, and bullets, and it's entire country and economy reduced to literal rubble. Anti-imperialist UNASUR and all of Latin America united against the invasion. South Africa stood against the war, as did newly anti-imperialist Egypt, denying the Suez Canal to the imperialists. The DPRK sent military advisors and other assistance. Russian and Venezuelan volunteers fought side by side with Syrians against terrorists financed by the imperialists. China and Russia played a vital role in the UN to stop interference in another nation's sovereignty, which is a natural reflex for the imperialist powers of the US, Britain, France, etc. any time one dollar is at stake, and most importantly of all, the world's people overwhelmingly rose up against this invasion, rallied to the call by communists and other anti-imperialists. People of all nations could see the injustice of this invasion clearly: with oppressed peoples so heartened and inspired by the world's unity against imperialist that it spurred many to learn about other liberation struggles, including learning about communism, and to want to struggle harder for liberation in their own nation. Also, far reaching ties and contacts and unity between peoples of so many nations was achieved, with many brought out of the shell of their own nation, to see good people and fighters for a common liberation in so many nations, turning their national chauvinism into internationalism. These ties forged create a new massive network to call upon for solidarity and support in many struggles of liberation, and unite the world more firmly against imperialist moves in the future. Imperialism lost much more than Syria, it lost the inaction of enormous masses of people, who will no longer stand by idly while imperialism attacks.

Amidst this recent historic gain for humanity, which is the result of Stalin's national policy, the Trotskyists have plunged themselves into greater obscurity, divorced from and reviled by the masses of oppressed peoples worldwide, who see them siding with imperialist invasion against national liberation, and will know them to be their enemies just as much as the imperialists and capitalists are.

**Conclusion**

These upsurges in the world anti-imperialist and national liberation movement are already weakening imperialism, and will lead all the way to its total defeat, and to the defeat of capitalism as a whole. The worlds' peoples are uniting for national liberation, in the vast worldwide network against the war on Syria making a voice so loud as to stop the imperialists in their tracks. UNASUR and the oppressed people of all of Africa admiring Gaddafi for his efforts to unite all of Africa against imperialism and neocolonialism are great moves forward that will impede imperialism, and weaken it politically, economically, and militarily, all the moreso if a United States of Africa can be achieved, despite the intransigence of neocolonial puppet governments in Africa, who would lose the wealth amassed for themselves and their families if they were to act for the good of their exploited people and throw out the imperialists. And there are many national liberation movements struggling for liberation now, many making gains, but which will each and all make such greater gains as the worldwide national liberation movement in general strengthens and grows. To quote Stalin again, "the national and colonial questions are inseparable from the question of emancipation from the rule of capital." [6] So as the national liberation movement to throw out neocolonialism and imperialism grows, so will the struggle against capitalism. Trotsky offers a recipe for defeat, while Stalin's "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question" offers the strategies and tasks necessary for the victory not only against imperialism and neocolonialism, but against capitalism itself!

**Footnotes**

[1.] *"The situation is somewhat different in countries like India. The fundamental and new feature of the conditions of life of colonies like India is not only that the national bourgeoisie has split up into a revolutionary party and a compromising party, but primarily that the compromising section of this bourgeoisie has already managed, in the main, to strike a deal with imperialism. Fearing revolution more than it fears imperialism, and concerned more about its money-bags than about the interests of its own country, this section of the bourgeoisie, the richest and most influential section, is going over entirely to the camp of the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution, it is forming a bloc with imperialism against the workers and peasants of its own country. The victory of the revolution cannot be achieved unless this bloc is smashed. But in order to smash this bloc, fire must be concentrated on the compromising national bourgeoisie, its treachery exposed, the toiling masses freed from its influence, and the conditions necessary for the hegemony of the proletariat systematically prepared. In other words, in colonies like India it is a matter of preparing the proletariat for the role of leader of the liberation movement, step by step dislodging the bourgeoisie and its mouthpieces from this honourable post. The task is to create a revolutionary anti-imperialist bloc and to ensure the hegemony of the proletariat in this bloc.*

*This bloc can assume, although it need not always necessarily do so, the form of a single workers' and peasants' party, formally bound by a single platform. In such countries, the independence of the Communist Party must be the chief slogan of the advanced communist elements, for the hegemony of the proletariat can be prepared and brought about only by the Communist Party. But the Communist Party can and must enter into an open bloc with the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie in order, after isolating the compromising national bourgeoisie, to lead the vast masses of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie in the struggle against imperialism.*" From: "*The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East*" Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Students of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East First Published: Pravda, No. 115, May 22, 1925 Source: J. V. Stalin, Works, Volume 7, pages 135 - 154. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954. Public Domain: Marxists Internet Archive.

[2.] "*Mugabe revives Gaddafi's 'United States of Africa' dream*" by Kitsepile Nyathi, January 16 2013, at http://www.africareview.com/News/Mugabe-revives-Gaddafi-United-States-of-Africa-dream/-/979180/1667016/-/bct3uw/-/index.html, interestingly whose title and structure were copied by the British imperialist propaganda article in footnote 4, just another theft by the imperialists from non-imperialist countries for capitalist profit.

[3.] *Indeed, the efforts of UNASUR and the strong anti-imperialist alliances formed in Latin America made Latin America unite against the imperialist invasion and occupation of Libya, and unite even stronger against the imperialist moves against Syria, forming a strong part of the anti-imperialist upsurge worldwide that forced the imperialists to back down from their desired invasion, domination, and looting of Syria. "Fidel Castro, and Evo Morales, President of Bolivia, Daniel Ortega, President of Nicaragua, Rafael Correa, President of Ecuador, Cristina Fernandez, President of Argentina - all stand with President Chávez against the U.S./NATO invasion of Libya indicating that the western media reports of Libya's military action as an attack on civilians is a lie. Rather their view is that Libya's military action is nothing more or less than a heroic national defense against a foreign-backed insurrection to achieve a coup d'etat to gain control of Libya's petroleum reserves*." Source: "*President Hugo Chávez, backed by South American Presidents, Condemns the Attack on Libya*" by Les Blough - Axis Of Logic, March 21st 2011, at http://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/6078 *Bolivia, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, and Colombia, and others strongly denounced the moves to invade by the US, despite the latter two traditionally closely supporting US foreign policy. Panama was the only Latin American country to support US moves for war on Syria.* Source: "*Latin America rejects US aggression against Syria*" by Yusuf Fernandez, date, at http://www.presstv.com/detail/2013/09/09/322909/lat-america-rejects-us-syria-aggression/

[4.] "*Mugabe revives Gaddafi's United States of Africa dream*" by David Smith, Africa correspondent for theguardian.com, 21 January 2013, at http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/21/mugabe-gaddafi-united-states-africa

[5.] "*Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*" by J. V. Stalin. First Published: Prosveshcheniye, Nos. 3-5, March-May 1913. Public Domain: Marxists Internet Archive. Available at http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03.htm

[6.] "*Concerning the Presentation of the National Question*" by J. V. Stalin (May 2, 1921). Source: Works, Vol. 5, 1921 - 1923. Publisher: Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954. Public Domain: Marxists Internet Archive.

[7.] "*CIA admits role in 1953 Iranian coup--Declassified documents describe in detail how US – with British help – engineered coup against Mohammad Mosaddeq*" by Saeed Kamali Dehghan and Richard Norton-Taylor, The Guardian, August 19, 2013, available at http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/19/cia-admits-role-1953-iranian-coup

[8.] "*U.S. war gains in Iraq now lost or threatened*" by Oren Dorell, USA TODAY, January 12, 2014, available at http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/01/12/many-iraq-war-gains-now-lost-or-threatened/4393439/

[9.] "*The Party Before and After Taking Power*" by J. V. Stalin (August 28, 1921). Source : Works, Vol. 5, 1921 - 1923. Publisher: Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954. Public Domain: Marxists Internet Archive.

# Lenin denounces Trotsky

Klo McKinsey

**Forewords**

One need only read all 45 volumes of Lenin's Collected Works as well as some of his other writings to see that he often criticized and vehemently denounced Trotsky. Those who seem to think Trotsky was the proper carrier of Lenin's torch definitely need to read the following 10 postings in this regard. But first we should note **Lenin's compliments of Stalin**.

A few noteworthy instances are the following:

In a 1913 article in the Social Democrat entitled The National Programme of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin stated, "*Why and how the national question has, at the present time, been bought to the fore...is shown in detail in the resolution itself. There is hardly any need to dwell on this in view of the clarity of the situation. This situation and the fundamentals of a national programme for Social-Democracy have recently been dealt with in Marxist theoretical literature (the most prominent place being taken by Stalin's article.*" He is referring to the writing by Stalin entitled Marxism and the National Question.

At the 11th Congress of the R.C.P. (B) in 1922 Lenin was more flattering toward Stalin when he said, "It is terribly difficult to do this; we lack the men! But Preobrazhensky comes along and airily says that Stalin has jobs in two Commissariats. Who among us has not sinned in this way? who has not undertaking several duties at once? And how can we do otherwise? What can we do to preserve the Nationalities; to handle all the Turkestan, Caucasian, and other questions? These are all political questions! They have to be settled. These are questions that have engaged the attention of European states for hundreds of years, and only an infinitesimal number of them have been settled in democratic republics. We are settling them; and we need a man to whom the representatives of any of these nations can go and discuss their difficulties in all detail. Where can we find such a man? I don't think Comrade Preobrazhensky could suggest any better candidate than Comrade Stalin. Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 33, page 315

In a February 1913 letter to Gorky Lenin said in regard to Stalin, "We have a marvellous Georgian who has sat down to write a big article for Prosveshcheniye, for which he has collected all the Austrian and other materials." Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 35, page 84.

**POST # 1**

It is very important to note that the following statements about Trotsky's ideas, tactics, and personality were made by Lenin, not Stalin.

At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P in 1903 Lenin said in the Third Speech in the Discussion on the Agrarian Programme, "Therein lies the fundamental difference between us and the liberals, whose talk about changes and reforms 'pollutes' the minds of the people. If we were to set forth in detail all the demands for the abolition of serf-ownership, we should fill whole volumes. That is why we mention only the more important forms and varieties of serfdom, and leave it to our committees in the various localities to draw up and advance their particular demands in development of the general programme. Trotsky's remark to the effect that we cannot concern ourselves with local demand is wrong, for the question...is not only a local one."

At the same Congress Lenin made an extremely important and farsighted comment with respect to Trotsky's theoretical wisdom. He stated, "To come to the main subject, I must say that Comrade Trotsky has completely misunderstood Comrade Plekhanov's fundamental idea, and his arguments have therefore evaded the gist of the matter. He has spoken of intellectuals and workers, of the class point of view and of the mass movement, but he has failed to notice a basic question: does my formulation narrow or expand the concept of a Party member? If he had asked himself that question, he would have easily have seen that my formulation narrows this concept, while Martov's expands it, for (to use Martov's own correct expression) what distinguishes his concept is its 'elasticity.' And in the period of Party life that we are now passing through it is just this 'elasticity' that undoubtedly opens the door to all elements of confusion, vacillation, and opportunism. To refute this simple and obvious conclusion it has to be proved that there are no such elements; but it has not even occurred to Comrade Trotsky to do that. Nor can that be proved, for everyone knows that such elements exist in plenty, and they are to be found in the working class too.... Comrade Trotsky completely misinterpreted the main idea of my book, What Is To Be Done? when he spoke about the Party not being a conspiratorial organization. He forgot that in my book I propose a number of various types of organizations, from the most secret and most exclusive to comparatively broad and 'loose' organizations. He forgot that the Party must be only the

vanguard, the leader of the vast masses of the working class, the whole (or nearly the whole) of which works 'under the control and direction' of the Party organizations, but the whole of which does not and should not belong to a 'party.' Now let us see what conclusions Comrade Trotsky arrives at in consequence of his fundamental mistake. He had told us here that if rank after rank of workers were arrested, and all the workers were to declare that they did not belong to the Party, our Party would be a strange one indeed! Is it not the other way round? Is it not Comrade Trotsky's argument that is strange? He regards as something sad that which a revolutionary with any experience at all would only rejoice at. If hundreds and thousands of workers who were arrested for taking part in strikes and demonstrations did not prove to be members of Party organizations, it would only show that we have good organizations, and that we are fulfilling our task of keeping a more or less limited circle of leaders secret and drawing the broadest possible masses into the movement."

In an article written in 1905 entitled "Social-Democracy and the Provisional Revolutionary Government" Lenin spoke of Parvus and said, "He openly advocated (unfortunately, together with the windbag Trotsky in a foreward to the latter's bombastic pamphlet 'Before the Ninth of January') the idea of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, the idea that it was the duty of Social-Democrats to take part in the provisional revolutionary government after the overthrow of the autocracy."

Later in the same article Lenin stated, "It would be extremely harmful to entertain any illusions on this score. If that windbag Trotsky now writes (unfortunately, side by side with Parvus) that a Father Gapon could appear only once,' that 'there is no room for a second Gapon,' he does so simply because he is a windbag. If there were no room in Russia for a second Gapon, there would be no room for a truly 'great' consummated democratic revolution."

In a 1904 letter to Stasova, Lengnik, and others Lenin stated, A new pamphlet by Trotsky came out recently, under the editorship of *Iskra*, as was announced. This makes it the "Credo" as it were of the new Iskra. The pamphlet is a pack of brazen lies, a distortion of the facts.... The pamphlet is a slap in the face both for the present Editorial Board of the C.O. and for all Party workers. Reading a pamphlet of this kind you can see clearly that the "Minority" has indulged in so much lying and falsehood that it will be incapable of producing anything viable...."

In a 1905 article entitled "Wrathful Impotence" Lenin stated, 'We shall remind the reader that even Mr. Struve, who has often voiced sympathy in principle with Trotsky, Starover, Akimov, and Martynov, and with the new-Iskra trends in general and the new-Iskra Conference in particular--even Mr. Struve was in his time obliged to acknowledge that their stand is not quite a correct one, or rather quite an incorrect one."

At the 1907 Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P Lenin stated, "A few words about Trotsky. He spoke on behalf of the 'Centre,' and expressed the views of the Bund. He fulminated against us for introducing our 'unacceptable' resolution. He threatened an outright split, the withdrawal of the Duma group, which is supposedly offended by our resolution. I emphasize these words. I urge you to reread our resolution.... When Trotsky stated: 'Your unacceptable resolution prevents your right ideas being put into effect,' I called out to him: 'Give us your resolution!' Trotsky replied: 'No first withdraw yours.' A fine position indeed for the 'Centre' to take, isn't it? Because of our (in Trotsky's opinion) mistake ('tactlessness') he punishes the whole Party.... Why did you not get your resolution passed, we shall be asked in the localities. Because the Centre (for whom Trotsky was speaking) took umbrage at it, and in a huff refused to set forth its own principles! That is a position based not on principle, but on the Centre's lack of principle."

Speaking at the same Congress Lenin objected to Trotsky's amendments to the Bolshevik resolution on the attitude towards bourgeois parties by saying, "It must be agreed that Trotsky's amendment is not Menshevik, that it expresses the 'very same,' that is, bolshevik, idea. But Trotsky has expressed this idea in a way that is scarcely better (than the Menshevik--Ed.).... Trotsky's insertion is redundant, for we are not fishing for unique cases in the resolution, but are laying down the basic line of Social-Democracy in the bourgeois Russian revolution."

While later discussing the same issue (the attitude the party should have toward bourgeois parties) Lenin said, "The question of the attitude of Social-Democracy towards bourgeois parties is one of those known as 'general' or 'theoretical' questions, i.e., such that are not directly connected with any definite practical task confronting the Party at a given moment. At the London Congress of the R.S.D.L.P, the Mensheviks and the Bundists conducted a fierce struggle against the inclusion of such questions in the agenda, and they were, unfortunately, supported in this by Trotsky, who does not belong to either side. The opportunistic wing of our Party (notice that that is the group with which Trotsky allied himself--Ed.) like that of other Social-Democratic parties, defended a 'business-like' or 'practical' agenda for the Congress. They shied away from 'broad and general' questions. They forgot that in the final analysis broad, principled politics are the only real, practical politics. They forgot that anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems, will inevitably and at every step 'come up against' those general problems without himself realizing it. To come up against them blindly in every individual case means to doom one's politics to the worst vacillation and lack of principle." And it is quite clear to which philosophy Trotsky adhered.

**POST #2**

Our list of statements about Trotsky by Lenin continues:

In 1909 Lenin wrote an article entitled "The Aim of the Proletarian Struggle in our Revolution" and said the following, "As for Trotsky, whom Comrade Martov has involved in the controversy of third parties which he has organized...we positively cannot go into a full examination of his views here. A separate article of considerable length would be needed for this. By just touching upon Trotsky's mistaken views, and quoting scraps of them, Comrade Martov only sows confusion in the mind of the reader.... Trotsky's major mistake is that he ignores the bourgeois character of the revolution and has no clear conception of the transition from this revolution to the socialist revolution. This major mistake leads to those mistakes on side issues which Comrade Martov repeats when he quotes a couple of them with sympathy and approval. Not to leave matters in the confused state to which Comrade Martov has reduced them by his exposition, we shall at least expose the fallacy of those arguments of Trotsky which have won approval of Comrade Martov."

Later in the same article Lenin states, "Trotsky's second statement quoted by Comrade Martov is wrong too. It is not true that 'the whole question is, who will determine the government's policy, who will constitute a homogeneous majority in it,' and so forth. And it is particularly untrue when Comrade Martov uses it as an argument against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Trotsky himself, in the course of his argument, concedes that 'representatives of the democratic population will take part' in the 'workers' government,' i.e., concedes that there will be a government consisting of representatives of the proletariat AND the peasantry. On what terms the proletariat will take part in the government of the revolution is quite another question, and it is quite likely that on this question the Bolsheviks will disagree not only with Trotsky, but also with the Polish Social-Democrats." Notice how Lenin does not consider Trotsky to be a bolshevik.

And finally, Lenin also states in the same article, "In any case, Comrade Martov's conclusion that the conference agreed with Trotsky, of all people, on the question of the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry in the struggle for power is an amazing contradiction of the facts, is an attempt to read into a word a meaning that was never discussed, not mentioned, and not even thought of at the conference."

In 1910 Lenin wrote several articles in which he said the following: Article= "Faction of Supporter of Otzovism and God-Building" in which he said, "The 'point' was that the Mensheviks (through the mouth of Trotsky in 1903-04) had to declare: the old Iskra and the new ones are poles apart."

Article= "Notes of a Publicist" in which he said, "With touching unanimity the liquidators and the otzovists are abusing the Bolsheviks up hill and down dale. The Bolsheviks are to blame, the Bolshevik Centre is to blame.... But the strongest abuse from Axelrod and Alexinsky only serves to screen their complete failure to understand the meaning and importance of Party unity. Trotsky's resolution only differs outwardly from the 'effusions' of Axelrod and Alexinsky. It is drafted very 'cautiously' and lays claim to 'above faction' fairness. But what is its meaning? The 'Bolshevik leaders' are to blame for everything--this is the same 'philosophy of history' as that of Axelrod and Alexinsky.... This question needs only to be put for one to see how hollow are the eloquent phrases in Trotsky's resolution, to see how in reality they serve to defend the very position held by Axelrod and Co., and Alexinsky and Co.... In the very first words of his resolution Trotsky expressed the full spirit of the worst kind of conciliation, "conciliation" in inverted commas, or a sectarian and philistine conciliation.... It is in this that the enormous difference lies between real partyism, which consists in purging the Party of liquidationism and otzovism, and the 'conciliation' of Trotsky and Co., which actually renders the most faithful service to the liquidators and otzovists, and is therefore *an evil* that is all the more dangerous to the Party the more cunningly, artfully and rhetorically it cloaks itself with professedly pro-Party, professedly anti-factional declamations." Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 16, pages 209-211

Later Lenin stated, "The draft of this resolution was submitted to the Central Committee by myself, and the clause in question was altered by the plenum itself after the commission had finished its work; it was altered on the motion of Trotsky, against whom I fought without success." Ibid. page 215

And this was later followed by, "Here you have the material--little, but characteristic material--which makes it clear how empty Trotsky's and Yonov's phrases are."

Referring to Trotsky's stance while discussing liquidationism Lenin says, "Of this we shall speak further on, where it be our task to demonstrate the utter superficiality of the view taken by Trotsky...."

In another stinging indictment in the same article Lenin says, "Hence the 'conciliatory' efforts of Trotsky and Yonov are not ridiculous and miserable. These efforts can only be explained by a complete failure to understand what is taking place. They are harmless efforts now, for there is no one behind them except the sectarian diplomats abroad, except ignorance and lack of intelligence in some out-of-the-way places."

Continuing in the same vein, Lenin states, "The heinous crime of *spineless 'conciliators'* like Yonov and Trotsky, who defend or justify these people, is that they are causing their ruin by making them more dependent on liquidationism.... That this position of Yonov and Trotsky is wrong should have been obvious to them for the simple reason that it is refuted by facts."

In an article entitled "How certain Social-Democrats Inform the International About the State of Affairs in the R.S.D.L.P." Lenin stated, "Yes, it is the 'non-factional' Comrade Trotsky, who has no compunction about openly advertising his faction's propaganda sheet."

In an article written in 1910 entitled "An Open Letter to All Pro-Party Social-Democrats" Lenin said about Trotsky, "If Trotsky and similar advocates of the liquidators and otzovists declare this rapprochement 'devoid of political content,' such speeches testify only to Trotsky's *entire lack of principle*, the real hostility of his policy to the policy of the actual (and not merely confined to promises) abolition of factions."

**POST #3**

Our list of denunciations of Trotsky by Lenin continues:

In a 1911 letter "To the Central Committee" Lenin said, "We resume our freedom of struggle against the liberals and *anarchists*, who are being encouraged by the leader of the 'conciliators,' Trotsky. The question of the money is for us a secondary matter, although of course we do not intend to hand over the money of the faction to the bloc of liquidators+anarchists+Trotsky, while in no way renouncing our right to expose before the international Social-Democratic movement this bloc, its financial 'basis' (the notorious Vperyodist 'funds' safeguarded from exposure by Trotsky and the Golosists)."

Later Lenin says, "There has been a full development of what was already outlined quite clearly at the plenum (for instance, *the defence of the anarchist school, by Trotsky* + the Golosists). The bloc of liberals and anarchists with the aid of the conciliators is shamelessly destroying the remnants of the Party from outside and helping to demoralize it from within. The formalistic game of 'inviting' the Golosists and Trotskyists on to the central bodies is finally reducing to impotence the already weakened pro-Party elements."

In a 1911 article entitled "Historical Meaning of Inner-Party Struggle in Russia" Lenin commented, "The theory that the struggle between Bolshevism and Menshevism is a struggle for influence over an immature proletariat is not a new one. We have been encountering it since 1905 in innumerable books, pamphlets, and articles in the liberal press. Martov and Trotsky are putting before the German comrades *liberal views with a Marxist coating*...." Trotsky declares: 'It is an illusion' to imagine that Menshevism and Bolshevism 'have struck deep roots in the depths of the proletariat.' This is a specimen of the resonant but empty phrases of which our Trotsky is a master. The roots of the divergence between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks lie, not in the 'depths of the proletariat,' but in the economic content of the Russian revolution. By ignoring this content, Martov and Trotsky have deprived themselves of the possibility of understanding the historical meaning of the inner-Party struggle in Russia."

Later in the same article Lenin states, "For the same reason Trotsky's argument that splits in the International Social-Democratic movement are caused by the 'process of adaptation of the social-revolutionary class to the limited (narrow) conditions of parliamentarism,' while in the Russian Social-Democratic movement they are caused by the adaptation of the intelligentsia to the proletariat, is *absolutely false*. Trotsky writes.... This truly 'unrestrained' phrase-mongering is merely the 'ideological shadow' of liberalism. Both Martov and Trotsky mix up different historical periods and compare Russia, which is going through her bourgeois revolution, with Europe, where these revolutions were completed long ago."

Subsequently Lenin says, "As regards boycotting the trade unions and the local self-government bodies, what Trotsky says is *absolutely untrue*. It is equally untrue to say that boycottism runs through the whole history of Bolshevism.... *Trotsky distorts Bolshevism*, because he has never been able to form any definite views on the role of the proletariat in the Russian bourgeois revolution."

In the same article Lenin said regarding Trotsky, "It is not true. And this untruth expresses, firstly, *Trotsky's utter lack of theoretical understanding*. Trotsky has absolutely failed to understand why the plenum described both liquidationism and otzovism as a 'manifestation of bourgeois influence on the proletariat'. Secondly, in practice, this untruth expresses the 'policy' of advertisement pursued by Trotsky's faction. That Trotsky's venture is an attempt to create a faction is now obvious to all, since Trotsky has removed the Central Committee's representative from Pravda. In advertising his faction Trotsky does not hesitate to tell the Germans that the Party is falling to pieces, that both factions are falling to pieces and that he, Trotsky, alone, is saving the situation. Actually, we all see now--and the latest resolution adopted by the Trotskyists in the name of the Vienna Club, on November 26, 1910 proves this quite conclusively--that *Trotsky enjoys the confidence exclusively of the liquidators and the Vperyodists*. The extent of *Trotsky's shamelessness* in belittling the Party and exalting himself before the Germans is shown, for instance, by the following. Trotsky writes that the 'working masses' in Russia consider that the 'Social-Democratic Party stands outside their circle' and he talks of 'Social-Democrats without Social-Democracy. How could one expect Mr. Potresov and his friends to refrain from bestowing kisses on Trotsky for such statements? But these statements are refuted not

only by the entire history of the revolution, but even by the results of the elections to the Third Duma from the workers' curia.... That is what Trotsky writes. But the facts are as follows.... When Trotsky gives the German comrades a detailed account of the stupidity of 'otzovism' and describes this trend as a 'crystallization' of the boycottism characteristic of Bolshevism as a whole...the German reader certainly gets no idea how much subtle *perfidy* there is in such an exposition. Trotsky's Jesuitical 'reservation' consists in omitting a small, very small 'detail.' He 'forgot' to mention that at an official meeting of its representatives held as far back as the spring of 1909, the Bolshevik faction repudiated and expelled the otzovists. But it is just this 'detail' that is inconvenient for Trotsky, who wants to talk of the 'falling to pieces' of the Bolshevik faction (and then of the Party as well) and not of the falling away of the non-Social-Democratic elements!.... ...Trotsky, on the other hand, represents only his own personal vacillations and nothing more. In 1903 he as a Menshevik; he abandoned Menshevism in 1904, returned to the Mensheviks in 1905 and merely flaunted ultra- revolutionary phrases; in 1906 he left them again; at the end of 1906 he advocated electoral agreements with the Cadets (i.e., he was in once more with the Mensheviks); and the spring of 1907, at the London Congress, he said that he differed from Rosa Luxemburg on "individual shades of ideas rather than on political tendencies". One day Trotsky *plagiarizes* from the ideological stock-in-trade of one faction; the next day he plagiarizes from that of another, and therefore declares himself to be standing above both factions. In theory Trotsky is on no point in agreement with either the liquidators or the otzovists, but in actual practice he is in entire agreement with both the Golosists and the Vperyodists. Therefore, when Trotsky tells the German comrades that he represents the 'general Party tendency,' I am obliged to declare that Trotsky represents only his own faction and enjoys a certain amount of confidence exclusively among the otzovists and the liquidators. The following facts prove the correctness of my statement."

After listing his facts and referring to 'Trotsky's anti-Party policy' Lenin states, "Let the readers now judge for themselves whether Trotsky represents a 'general Party,' or a 'general anti-Party' trend in Russian Social-Democracy."

**POST #4**

Our on-going expose of Lenin's Opinion of Trotsky continues:

In an article entitled "Letter to the Russian Collegium of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin attacked Trotsky by saying, "Trotsky's call for 'friendly' collaboration by the Party with the Golos and Vperyod groups is *disgusting hypocrisy and phrase-mongering*. Everybody is aware that for the whole year since the Plenary Meeting the Golos and Vperyod groups have worked in a 'friendly' manner against the Party (and were secretly supported by Trotsky). Actually, it is only the Bolsheviks and Plekhanov's group who have for a whole year carried out friendly Party work in the Central Organ. Trotsky's attacks on the bloc of Bolsheviks and Plekhanov's group are not new; what is new is the outcome of his resolution: the Vienna Club (read "Trotsky") has organized a 'general Party fund for the purpose of preparing and convening a conference of the RSDLP This indeed is new. It is a direct step towards a split. It is *a clear violation of Party legality* and the start of an adventure in which Trotsky will come to grief. This is obviously a split.... It is quite possible and probable that 'certain' Vperyod 'funds' will be made available to Trotsky. You will appreciate that this will only stress the adventurist character of his undertaking. It is clear that this undertaking violates Party legality, since not a word is said about the Central Committee, which alone can call the conference. In addition, Trotsky, having ousted the C.C. representative on Pravda in August 1910, himself *lost all trace of legality*, converting Pravda from an organ supported by the representative of the C.C. into a purely factional organ.... Taking advantage of this, 'violation of legality,' Trotsky seeks an organisational split, creating 'his own' fund for 'his own' conference."

After this critique of Trotsky, Lenin really comes down solid on him by stating, "You will understand why I call Trotsky's move an adventure; it is an adventure in every respect. It is an adventure in the ideological sense. *Trotsky groups all the enemies of Marxism*, he unites Potresov and Maximov, who detest the 'Lenin-Plekhanov' bloc, as they like to call it. *Trotsky unites all to whom ideological decay is dear*, *all who are not concerned with the defence of Marxism*; *all philistines* who do not understand the reasons for the struggle and who do not wish to learn, think, and discover the ideological roots of the divergence of views. At this time of confusion, disintegration, and wavering it is easy for Trotsky to become the 'hero of the hour' and *gather all the shabby elements around himself*. The more openly this attempt is made, the more spectacular will be the defeat. It is an adventure in the party-political sense. At present everything goes to show that the real unity of the Social-Democratic Party is possible only on the basis of a sincere and unswerving repudiation of liquidationism and otzovism. It is clear that Potresov and the Vperyod group have renounced neither the one nor the other. Trotsky unites them, basely deceiving himself, *deceiving the Party, and deceiving the proletariat*. In reality, Trotsky will achieve nothing more than the strengthening of Potresov's and Maximov's anti-Party groups. The collapse of this adventure is inevitable."

And Lenin concludes by saying, "Three slogans bring out the essence of the present situation within the Party:... 3. Struggle against the splitting tactics and the *unprincipled adventurism of Trotsky* in banding Potresov and Maximov against Social-Democracy."

In a 1910 article entitled "The State of Affairs in the Party" Lenin again attacks Trotsky's anti-Party stance by saying, "...Trotsky's statement of November 26, 1910...completely distorts the essence of the matter. Martov's article and Trotsky's resolution conceal definite practical actions--actions directed against the Party.... Trotsky's resolution, which calls upon

organizations inthe localities to prepare for a "general Party conference" independent of, and against, the Central Committee, expresses the very aim of the Golos group--to destroy the central bodies so detested by the liquidators, and with them, the Party as an organization. It is not enough to lay bare the anti-Party activities of Golos and Trotsky; they must be fought.

In the same article Lenin states, "When Trotsky, in referring to the Meeting's decisions on Pravda, fails to mention this fact, all one can say about it is that *he is deceiving the workers*. And this deception on the part of Trotsky is all the more *malicious*, since in August Trotsky removed the representative of the Central Committee from Pravda.... Therefore, we declare, in the name of the Party as a whole, that Trotsky is pursuing an anti-Party policy.... Trotsky is trying again and again to evade the question by passing it over in silence or by phrase-mongering; *for he is concerned to keep the readers and the Party ignorant of the truth*, namely that Potresov's group, the group of sixteen, are absolutely independent of the Party, represent expressly distinct factions, are not only doing nothing to revive the illegal organization, but are obstructing its revival, and are not pursuing any Social-Democratic tactics. *Trotsky is concerned with keeping the Party ignorant of the truth*, namely, that the Golos group represent a faction abroad, similarly separated from the Party, and that they actually render service to the liquidators in Russia.... Trotsky maintains silence on this undeniable truth, because *the truth is detrimental to the real aims of his policy*. The real aims, however, are becoming clearer and more obvious even to the least far-sighted Party members. They are" an anti-Party block of the Potresovs with the Vperyod group--a bloc which Trotsky supports and is organizing."

Lenin later states, "We must again explain the fundamentals of Marxism to these masses; the defence of Marxist theory is again on the order of the day. When Trotsky declares that the rapprochement between the pro-Party Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks is 'devoid of political content' and 'unstable,' he is thereby merely revealing *the depths of his own ignorance*, he is thereby demonstrating *his own complete emptiness*."

Lenin later follows this up with, "...Trotsky, who is in the habit of joining any group that happens to be in the majority at the moment.... Trotsky's policy is adventurism in the organisational sense; for, as we have already pointed out, it violates Party legality...."

**POST #5**

Our continuing revelation of Lenin's Opinion of Trotsky proceeds apace:

In a 1911 article entitled "Judas Trotsky's Blush of Shame" Lenin states, "At the Plenary Meeting *Judas Trotsky* made a big show of fighting liquidationism and otzovism. He vowed and swore that he was true to the Party. He was given a subsidy.... Judas expelled the representative of the Central Committee from Pravda and began to write liquidationist articles.... And it is this Judas who beats his breast and loudly professes his loyalty to the Party, claiming that he did not grovel before the Vperyod group and the liquidators. Such is Judas Trotsky's blush of shame."

In a leaflet published in 1911 entitled "Resolution Adopted by the Second Paris Group of the R.S.D.L.P. on the State of Affairs in the Party" Lenin addressed this same theme by saying, "People like Trotsky, with his inflated phrases about the R.S.D.L.P. and his *toadying* to the liquidators, who have nothing in common with the R.S.D.L.P., today represent '*the prevalent disease*.' They are trying to build up a career for themselves by cheap sermons about 'agreement'--agreement with all and sundry, right down to Mr. Potresov and the otzovists.... Actually they preach surrender to the liquidators who are building a Stolypin labour party."

And in the 1911 article entitled "From the Camp of the Stolypin Labour Party" Lenin revisits this issue by saying, "Hence it is clear that Trotsky and the 'Trotskyites and conciliators' like him are *more pernicious than any liquidators*; the convinced liquidators state their views bluntly, and it is easy for the workers to detect where they are wrong, whereas the *Trotskys deceive the workers*, *cover up the evil*, and make it impossible to expose the evil and to remedy it. *Whoever supports Trotsky's puny group supports a policy of lying and of deceiving the workers*, a policy of shielding the liquidators. Full freedom of action for Potresov and Co. in Russia, and the shielding of their deeds by 'revolutionary' phrase-mongering abroad--there you have the essence of the policy of 'Trotskyism'."

In an article entitled "The New Faction of Conciliators, or the Virtuous" Lenin stated, Trotsky expressed conciliationism more consistently than anyone else. He was probably the only one who attempted to give the trend a theoretical foundation, namely: factions and factionalism express the struggle of the intelligentsia "for influence over the immature proletariat".... For a long time now, Trotsky--who at one moment has wavered more to the side of the Bolsheviks and at another more to that of the Mensheviks--has been persistently carrying on propaganda for an agreement (or compromise) between all and sundry factions. "But after it, every since the spring of 1910 Trotsky has been *deceiving the workers in a most unprincipled and shameless manner* by assuring them that the obstacles to unity were principally (if not wholly) of an organizational nature. This deceit is being continued in 1911 by the Paris conciliators; for to assert now that they organizational questions occupy the first place is sheer mockery of the truth. In reality, it is by no means the organizational question that is now in the forefront, but the question of the entire programme, the entire tactics and the whole character of the Party.... The conciliators call themselves Bolsheviks, in

order to repeat, a year and a half later, *Trotsky's errors* which the Bolsheviks had exposed. Well, is this not an abuse of established Party titles? Are we not obliged, after this, to let all and sundry know that the conciliators are not Bolsheviks at all, that they have nothing in common with Bolshevism, that they are simply inconsistent Trotskyites? The only difference between Trotsky and the conciliators in Paris is that the latter regard Trotsky as a factionalist and themselves as non-factionalist, whereas Trotsky holds the opposite view.... Trotsky provides us with an abundance of instances of scheming to establish unprincipled "unity.... Trotsky was merely revealing the plan of the liquidators whom he serves faithfully...."

In a 1911 article on the same theme entitled "Trotsky's Diplomacy and a certain Party Platform," Lenin states, "Trotsky's particular task is to conceal liquidationism by throwing dust in the eyes of the workers. It is impossible to argue with Trotsky on the merits of the issue, because *Trotsky holds no views whatever*. We can and should argue with confirmed liquidators and otzovists;; but it is no use arguing with a man whose game is to hide errors of both these trends; in his case the thing to do is to expose him as a *diplomat of the smallest caliber*."

In an article entitled "Fundamental Problems of the Election Campaign" Lenin states, "There is nothing more repugnant to the spirit of Marxism than phrase-mongering...."
And later on he states, "But there is no point in imitating Trotsky's inflated phrases."

In a 1912 pamphlet entitled "The Present Situation in the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin stated," This is incredible, yet it is a fact. It will be useful for the Russian workers to know how *Trotsky and Co. are misleading our foreign comrades*."

In another 1912 pamphlet entitled "Can the Slogan 'Freedom of Association' Serve as a Basis for the Working-Class Movement Today?" Lenin responds by saying, "In the legal press, the liquidators headed by Trotsky argue that it can. They are doing all in their power to distort the true character of the workers' movement. But those are hopeless efforts. The drowning of the liquidators are clutching at a straw to rescue their unjust cause."

In a 1912 pamphlet entitled "Platform of the Reformists and the Platform of the Revolutionary Social-Democrats" Lenin stated, "Look at the platform of the liquidators. Its liquidationist essence is artfully concealed by Trotsky's revolutionary phrases." "The revolutionary Social-Democrats have given their answer to these questions, which are more interesting and important than the *philistine-Trotskyist* attitude of uncertainty; will there be a revolution or not, who can tell?.... Those, however, who preach to the masses their *vulgar, intellectualist, Bundist-Trotskyist scepticism*--'we don't know whether there will be a revolution or not, but the current issue is reforms'--are already *corrupting the masses, preaching liberal utopias to them*."

In the 1912 pamphlet entitled "The Illegal Party and Legal Work" Lenin again referred to Trotsky by saying, "We have studied the ideas of liberal labour policy attired in Levitsky's everyday clothes; it is not difficult to recognize them in *Trotsky's gaudy apparel* as well."

In a letter to the Editor of Pravda in 1912 Lenin said, "I advise you to reply to Trotsky throught the post: 'To Trotsky. We shall not reply to disruptive and slanderous letters.' Trotsky's dirty campaign against Pravda is one mass of lies and slander. The well-known Marxist and follower of Plekhanov, Rothstein, has written to us that he received Trotsky's slanders and replied to him: I cannot complain of the Petersburg Pravda in any way. But this intriguer and liquidator goes onlying, right and left. P.S. It would be still better to reply in this way to Trotsky through the post: 'To Trotsky. You are wasting your time sending us disruptive and slanderous letters...."

In a 1913 article in Pravda Lenin really blistered Trotsky on the question of Party unity by saying, "It is amazing that after the question has been posed so clearly and squarely we come across Trotsky's old, pompous but perfectly meaningless phrases in Luch No. 27 (113). Not a word on the substance of the matter! *Not the slightest attempt to cite precise facts and analyze them thoroughly!* Not a hint of the real terms of unity! Empty exclamations, high-flown words, and haughty sallies against opponents whom the author does not name, and impressively important assurances--that is *Trotsky's total stock-in-trade*. That won't do gentlemen.... The workers will not be intimidated or coaxed. They themselves will compare Luch and Pravda...and simply shrug off Trotsky's verbiage.... You cannot satisfy the workers with mere phrases, no matter how 'conciliatory' or honeyed. 'Our historic factions, Bolshevism and Menshevism, are purely intellectualist formations in origin,' wrote Trotsky. This is the *repetition of a liberal tale*.... It is to the advantage of the liberals to pretend that this fundamental basis of the difference was introduced by 'intellectuals.' But *Trotsky merely disgraces himself by echoing a liberal tale*.

In a 1913 article entitled "Notes of a Publicist" Lenin states, "Trotsky, doing faithful service to liquidators, assured himself and the naive 'Europeans' (lovers of Asiatic scandal-mongering) that the liquidators are 'stronger' in the legal movement. And this lie, too, is refuted by the facts."

Lenin again blasted Trotsky in an article published in 1914 entitled "Break-up of the 'August' Bloc" by stating, "Trotsky, however, has never had any 'physiognomy' at all; *the only thing he does have is a habit of changing sides*, of *skipping from

the liberals to the Marxists and back again*, of mouthing scraps of catchwords and bombastic parrot phrases.... Actually, under cover of high-sounding, empty, and obscure phrases that confuse the non-class-conscious workers, Trotsky is defending the liquidators.... But *the liquidators and Trotsky...are the worst splitters*."

And in an article entitled "Ideological Struggle in Working-Class Movement" Lenin states, "People who (like the liquidators and Trotsky) ignore or falsify this twenty years' history of the ideological struggle in the working-class movement do tremendous harm to the workers."

**POST #6**

Our ongoing revelation of what Lenin thought of Trotsky proceeds on schedule.

In a 1914 article named "Disruption of Unity" Lenin stated, "Trotsky's 'workers' journal' is Trotsky's journal for workers, as there is not a trace in it of either workers' initiative, or any connection with working-class organizations.... The question arises: what has 'chaos' got to do with it? Everybody knows that *Trotsky is fond of high-sounding and empty phrases*.... If there is any 'chaos' anywhere, it is only in the heads of cranks who fail to understand this.... And that fact proves that we right in calling Trotsky a representative of the 'worst remnants of factionalism'. Although he claims to be non-factional, Trotsky is known to everybody who is in the least familiar with the working-class movement in Russia as the representative of 'Trotsky's faction'. Trotsky, however, possesses no ideological and political definiteness, for his patent for 'non-factionalism', as we shall soon see in greater detail,is merely a patent to flit freely to and fro, from one group to another. To sum up: (1) Trotsky does not explain, *nor does he understand, the historical significance of the ideological disagreements among the various Marxist trends and groups*, although these disagreements run through the twenty years' history of Social-Democracy and concern the fundamental questions of the present day (as we shall show later on); (2) Trotsky fails to understand that the main specific features of group-division are nominal recognition of unity and actual disunity; (3) Under cover of 'non-factionalism' Trotsky is championing the interests of a group abroad which particularly lacks definite principles and has no basis in the working-class movement in Russia. All that glitters is not gold. *There is much glitter and sound in Trotsky's phrases, but they are meaningless*.... But joking apart (although joking is the only way of retorting mildly to Trotsky's insufferable phrase-mongering). 'Suicide' is a mere empty phrase, mere 'Trotskyism'.... If our attitude towards liquidationism is wrong in theory, in principle, then Trotsky should say so straightforwardly, and state definitely, without equivocation, why he thinks it is wrong. But Trotsky has been evading this extremely important point for years.... Trotsky is very fond of using, with the learned air of the expert, *pompous and high-sounding phrases* to explain historical phenomena in a way that is flattering to Trotsky. Since 'numerous advanced workers' become 'active agents' of a political and Party line which does not conform to Trotsky's line, Trotsky settles the question unhesitatingly, out of hand: these advanced workers are 'in a state of utter political bewilderment,' whereas he, Trotsky, is evidently 'in a state' of political firmness and clarity, and keeps to the right line! And this very same Trotsky, beating his breast, fulminates against factionalism, parochialism, and the efforts of intellectuals to impose their will on the workers!" "Reading things like these, one cannot help asking oneself; *is it from a lunatic asylum that such voices come*? Trotsky is trying to disrupt the movement and cause a split.

Later in the same article Lenin states, "Those who accused us of being splitters, of being unwilling or unable to get on with the liquidators, were themselves unable to get on with them. The August bloc proved to be a fiction and broke up. By concealing this break-up from his readers, *Trotsky is deceiving them*."

Still later, Lenin confronted a problem I have often encountered by stating, "*The reason why Trotsky avoids facts and concrete references is because they relentlessly refute all his angry outcries and pompous phrases*.... Is not this weapon borrowed from the arsenal of the period when Trotsky posed in all his splendor before audiences of high-school boys?"

And finally, in the same article Lenin shatters Trotsky, his theory of Permanent Revolution, and his all consuming equivocating, with which I am thoroughly familiar, by saying, "Trotsky was an ardent Iskrist in 1901-03, and Ryazanov described his role at the Congress of 1903 as 'Lenin's cudgel.' At the end of 1903, Trotsky was an ardent Menshevik, i.e., he deserted from the Iskrists to the Economists. He said that 'between the old Iskra and the new lies a gulf'. In 1904-05, he deserted the Mensheviks and occupied a vacillating position, now co-operating with Martynov (the Economist), now proclaiming his **absurdly Left permanent revolution theory**. In 1906-07, he approached the Bolsheviks, and in the spring of 1907 he declared that he was in agreement with Rosa Luxemburg. In the period of disintegration, after long 'non-factional' vacillation, he again went to the right, and in August 1912, he entered into a bloc with the liquidators. He has now deserted them again, although in substance he reiterates their shoddy ideas."

In another 1914 article entitled "Objective Data on the Strength of Various Trends" Lenin commented, "One of the greatest, if not the greatest, faults (or crimes against the working class) of the Narodniks and liquidators, as well as of the various groups of intellectuals such as the Vperyodists, Plekhanovites and Trotskyists, is their subjectivism. At every step they try to pass off their desires, their 'views', their appraisals of the situation and their 'plans', as the will of the workers, the needs of the working-class

movement."

In a article published in 1914 entitled "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" Lenin stated, "**The obliging Trotsky is more dangerous than an enemy!** Trotsky could produce no proof, except 'private conversations" (i.e., simply *gossip, on which Trotsky always subsists*), for classifying 'Polish Marxists' in general as supporters of every article by Rosa Luxemburg.... Why did Trotsky withhold these facts from the readers of his journal? Only because it pays him to speculate on fomenting differences between the Polish and the Russian opponents of liquidationism and to *deceive the Russian workers* on the question of the programme."

And now comes another comment that blows off Trotsky's doors. "**Trotsky has never yet held a firm opinion on any important question of Marxism**. He always contrives to worm his way into the cracks of any given difference of opinion, and desert one side for the other. At the present moment he is in the company of the Bundists and the liquidators. And these gentlemen do not stand on ceremony where the Party is concerned."

In an article first published in 1917 Lenin noted that Trotsky made a number of errors by saying, "A number of Trotsky's tactical and organizational errors spring from this fear...."

Still later, Lenin confronted a problem I have often encountered by stating, "*The reason why Trotsky avoids facts and concrete references is because they relentlessly refute all his angry outcries and pompous phrases*.... Is not this weapon borrowed from the arsenal of the period when Trotsky posed in all his splendor before audiences of high-school boys?" It seems to him that to desire Russia's defeat means desiring the victory of Germany.... To help people that are unable to think for themselves, the Berne resolution made it clear that in all imperialist countries the proletariat must now desire the defeat of its own government. Bukvoyed and Trotsky preferred to avoid this truth.... *Had Bukvoyed and Trotsky done a little thinking, they would have realized that they have adopted the viewpoint on the war held by governments and the bourgeoisie, i.e., that they cringe to the 'political methodology of social-patriotism', to use Trotsky's pretentious language*. Whoever is in favour of the slogan of 'neither victory nor defeat' [Trotsky] is consciously or unconsciously a chauvinist; at best he is a conciliatory petty bourgeois but in any case he is an enemy to proletarian policy, a partisan of the existing governments, of the present-day ruling classes.... Those who stand for the 'neither-victory-nor-defeat' slogan are in fact on the side of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, for they do not believe in the possibility of international revolutionary action by the working class against their own governments, and do not wish to help develop such action, which, though undoubtedly difficult, is the only task worthy of a proletarian, the only socialist task."

And in another 1915 article labeled "The State of Affairs in Russian Social-Democracy" Lenin comments, "Trotsky, who as always entirely disagrees with the social-chauvinists in principle, but agrees with them in everything in practice...."

In the article entitled "Socialism and War" Lenin states, "In Russia, Trotsky, while rejecting this idea, also defends unity with the opportunist and chauvinist Nasha Zarya group.

**POST #7**

More on Lenin's Opinion of Trotsky will now be presented.

In 1915 article in the Social Democrat entitled "On the Two Lines in the Revolution" Lenin comments on Trotsky's failure to realize the importance of the peasantry by saying, "This task is being wrongly tackled in Nashe Slovo by Trotsky, who is repeating his 'original' 1905 theory and refuses to give some thought to the reason why, in the course of ten years, life has been bypassing this splendid theory. From the Bolsheviks Trotsky's original theory has borrowed their call for a decisive proletarian revolutionary struggle and for the conquest of political power by the proletariat, while from the Mensheviks it has borrowed 'repudiation' of the peasantry's role. The peasantry, he asserts, are divided into strata, have become differentiated; their potential revolutionary role has dwindled more and more; in Russia a 'national' revolution is impossible; 'we are living in the era of imperialism,' says Trotsky, and 'imperialism does not contrapose the bourgeois nation to the old regime, but the proletariat to the bourgeois nation. ...The length *Trotsky's muddled thinking* goes to is evident from his phrase that by their resoluteness the proletariat will attract the 'non-proletarian popular masses' as well! Trotsky has not realized that if the proletariat induce the non-proletarian masses to confiscate the landed estates and overthrown the monarchy, then that will be the consummation of the 'national bourgeois revolution' in Russia; it will be a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry!.... This is such an obvious truth that not even the thousands of phrases in scores of Trotsky's Paris articles will 'refute' it. *Trotsky is in fact helping the liberal-labour politicians* in Russia, who by 'repudiation' of the role of the peasantry understand a refusal to raise up the peasants for the revolution!"

PART-I: In a 1921 pamphlet entitled "***The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes***" Lenin drops a whole series of bombs on Trotsky's theoretical analyses by saying, "My principal material is Comrade Trotsky's pamphlet, The Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions. When I compare it with the theses he submitted to the Central Committee, and go over it very

carefully, I am amazed at the number of *theoretical mistakes and glaring blunders* it contains. How could anyone starting a big Party discussion on this question produce *such a sorry excuse for a carefully thought out statement*? Let me go over the main points which, I think, contain the original *fundamental theoretical errors*. Trade unions are not just historically necessary; they are historically inevitable as an organization of the industrial proletariat, and, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, embrace nearly the whole of it. This is basic, but Comrade Trotsky keeps forgetting it; he neither appreciates it nor makes it his point of departure.... Within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the trade unions stand, if I may say so, between the Party and the government. In the transition to socialism the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable, but it is not exercised by an organization which takes in all industrial workers. Why not?.... What happens is that the Party, shall we say, absorbs the vanguard of the proletariat, and this vanguard exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat.... But the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised through an organization embracing the whole of that class, because in all capitalist countries (and not only over here, in one of the most backward) the proletariat is still so divided, so degraded, and so corrupted in parts (by imperialism in some countries) that an organization taking in the whole proletariat cannot directly exercise proletarian dictatorship. It can be exercised only by a vanguard that has absorbed the revolutionary energy of the class.... From this alone it is evident that there is something fundamentally wrong in principle when Comrade Trotsky points, in his first thesis, to 'ideological confusion', and speaks of a crisis as existing specifically and particularly in the trade unions.... *It is Trotsky who is in 'ideological confusion'*, because in this key question of the trade unions' role, from the standpoint of transition from capitalism to communism, he has lost sight of the fact that we have here a complex arrangement of cogwheels which cannot be a simple one; for the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised by a mass proletarian organization. It cannot work without a number of 'transmission belts' running from the vanguard to the mass of the advanced class, and from the latter to the mass of the working people. ...When I consider the role of the trade unions in production, I find that Trotsky's basic mistake lies in his always dealing with it 'in principle,' as a matter of 'general principle.' All his theses are based on 'general principle,' an approach which is in itself fundamentally wrong.... In general, Comrade Trotsky's great mistake, his mistake of principle, lies in the fact that by raising the question of 'principle' at this time he is dragging back the Party and the Soviet power. We have, thank heaven, done with principles and have gone on to practical business. We chatted about principles--rather more than we should have--at the Smolny. The actual differences, apart from those I have listed, really have nothing to do with general principles. I have had to enumerate my 'differences' with Comrade Trotsky because, with such a broad theme as 'The Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions,' **he has, I am quite sure, made a number of mistakes bearing on the very essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat**. ...I must say that had we made a detailed, even if small-scale, study of our own experience and practices, we should have managed to avoid the hundreds of quite unnecessary 'differences' and *errors of principle in which Comrade Trotsky's pamphlet abounds*. ...While betraying this lack of thoughtfulness, Comrade Trotsky falls into error himself. He seems to say that in a workers' state it is not the business of the trade unions to stand up for the material and spiritual interests of the working class. That is a mistake. Comrade Trotsky speaks of a 'workers' state.' May I say that this is an abstraction. It was natural for us to write about a workers' state in 1917; but it is now a patent error to say: 'Since this is a workers' state without any bourgeoisie, against whom then is the working class to be protected, and for what purpose?' The point is that it is not quite a workers' state. That is where Comrade Trotsky makes one of his main mistakes.... This will not do. For one thing, ours is not actually a workers' state but a workers' and peasants' state. And a lot depends on that. ...Well, is it right to say that in a state that has taken this shape in practice the trade unions have nothing to protect, or that we can do without them in protecting the material and spiritual interests of the massively organized proletariat? No, this reasoning is theoretically quite wrong. It takes us into the sphere of abstraction or an ideal we shall achieve in 15 or 20 years time, and I am not so sure that we shall have achieved it even by then. ...At any rate, see that you choose fewer slogans, like 'industrial democracy,' which contain nothing but confusion and are theoretically wrong. *Both Trotsky and Bukharin failed to think out this term theoretically and ended up in confusion*. ...I say: cast your vote against it, because it is confusion. Industry is indispensable, democracy is not. Industrial democracy breeds some utterly false ideas. The idea of one-man management was advocated only a little while ago. We must not make a mess of things and confuse people: how do you expect them to know when you want democracy, when one-man management, and when dictatorship. But on no account must we renounce dictatorship either....

**POST #8**

PART-II: LENIN'S VIGOROUS DENUNCIATION OF TROTSKY'S POSITION ON THE TRADE UNIONS CONTINUES

But to go on. Since September we have been talking about switching from the principle of priority to that of equalization.... ...Priority implies preference for one industry out of a group of vital industries because of its greater urgency. What does such preference entail? How great can it be? This is a difficult question.... And so if we are to raise this question of priority and equalization we must first of all give it some careful thought, but that is just what we fail to find in Comrade Trotsky's work; *the further he goes in revising his original theses, the more mistakes he makes*. Here is what we find in his latest theses:.... This is *a real theoretical muddle. It is all wrong*.... The fourth point is disciplinary courts. I hope Comrade Bukharin will not take offence if I say that without disciplinary courts the role of the trade unions in industry, 'industrial democracy,' is a mere trifle. But the fact it that there is nothing at all about this in your theses. *"'Great grief!' is therefore the only thing that can be said about Trotsky's theses and Bukharin's attitude, from the standpoint of principle, theory and practice*. I am confirmed in this conclusion when I say to myself: *yours is not a Marxist approach to the question.* This quite apart from the fact that there are a number of theoretical mistakes in the theses. It is not a Marxist approach to the evaluation of the 'role and tasks of the trade

unions,' because such a broad subject cannot be tackled without giving thought to the peculiar political aspects of the present situation. After all, Comrade Bukharin and I did say in the resolution...on trade unions that politics is the most concentrated expression of economics. ...Comrade Trotsky says in his theses that on the question of workers' democracy it remains for the Congress to 'enter it unanimously in the record.' That is not correct. There is more to it than an entry in the record; an entry in the record fixes what has been fully weighed and measured, whereas the question of industrial democracy is from having been fully weighed, tried and tested. Just think how the masses may interpret this slogan of 'industrial democracy.' ...*Trotsky's theses, whatever his intentions, do not tend to play up the best, but the worst in military experience*. It must be borne in mind that a political leader is responsible not only for his own policy but also for the acts of those he leads. ...The last thing I want to tell you about--something I called myself a fool for yesterday--is that I had altogether overlooked Comrade Rudzutak's theses. His weak point is that he does not speak in ringing tones; he is not an impressive or eloquent speaker. He is liable to be overlooked. Unable to attend the meetings yesterday, I went through my material and found his leaflet called: 'The Tasks of the Trade Unions in Production'. Let me read it to you, it is not long.... (Lenin then read Rudzutak's pamphlet and says,--Ed.), I hope you see not why I called myself names. There you have a platform, and *it is much better than the one Comrade Trotsky wrote after a great deal of thinking*, and the one Comrade Bukharin wrote without any thinking at all. All of us members of the Central Committee who have been out of touch with the trade union movement for many years would profit from Comrade Rudzutak's experience, and this also goes for Comrade Trotsky and Comrade Bukharin. The trade unions have adopted this platform.
(Lenin concludes his article on the trade unions by saying--Ed.)

The net result is that *there are a number of theoretical mistakes in Trotsky's and Bukharin's theses*: they contain a number of things that are wrong in principle. Politically, the whole approach to the matter is utterly tactless. *Comrade Trotsky's 'theses' are politically harmful*. The sum and substance of his policy is bureaucratic harassment of the trade unions. Our Party Congress will, I am sure, condemn and reject it."

At the Second All-Russia Congress of Miners in 1921 Lenin wrote, "The morbid character of the question of the role and tasks of the trade unions is due to the fact that it took the form of a factional struggle much too soon. This vast, boundless question should not have been taken up in such haste, as it was done here, and *I put the chief blame on Comrade Trotsky for all this fumbling haste and precipitation*. To illustrate my point, and to proceed at once to the heart of the matter, let me read you the chief of Trotsky's theses. (Lenin then reads Trotsky's short statement--Ed.). I could quote many similar passages from Trotsky's pamphlet. I ask, by way of factional statement: Is it becoming for such an influential person, such a prominent leader, to attack his Party comrades in this way? I am sure that 99% of the comrades, excepting those involved in the quarrel, will say that this should not be done. ...What sort of talk is this? Is it the right kind of language? Is it the right approach? I had earlier said that I might succeed in acting as a 'buffer' and staying out of the discussion, because it is harmful to fight with Trotsky--it does the Republic, the Party, and all of us a lot of harm--but when this pamphlet came out, I felt I had to speak up. ...Even if there is a spirit of hostility for the new men, one should not say a thing like that. *Trotsky accuses Lozovsky and Tomsky of bureaucratic practices. I would say the reverse is true*. ...Even the best workers make mistakes.... Comrade Trotsky says that Comrades Tomsky and Lozovsky--trade unionists both--are guilty of cultivating in their midst a spirit of hostility for the new men. *But this is monstrous. Only someone in the lunatic fringe can say a thing like that*. That is just why *Trotsky's whole approach is wrong*. I could have analyzed any one of his theses, but it would take me hours, and you would all be bored to death. *Every thesis reveals the same thoroughly wrong approach*....

**POST #9**

PART-III: LENIN'S EXPOSURE OF TROTSKY'S INADEQUACIES CONTINUES--THE TRADE UNIONS

In another 1921 article on the same topic entitled "Once Again on the Trade Unions" Lenin states, "*Comrade Trotsky's theses have landed him in a mess*. That part of them which is correct is not new and, what is more, turns against him. That which is new is all wrong. I have written out Comrade Trotsky's correct propositions. They turn against him not only on the point in thesis 23 but on the others as well. ...Can it be denied that, even if Trotsky's 'new tasks and methods' were as sound as they are in fact unsound, *his very approach would be damaging to himself, the Party, the trade union movement, the training of millions of trade union members and the Republic*? ...I decided there and then that policy lay at the root of the controversy, and that Comrade Trotsky, with his 'shake-up' policy against Comrade Tomsky, was entirely in the wrong. ...But 'shake-up' is a real 'catchword', not only in the sense that after being uttered by Comrade Trotsky at the Fifth All-Russia Conference of Trade Unions it has, you might say, 'caught on' throughout the Party and the trade unions. Unfortunately, it remains true even today in the much more profound sense that it alone epitomizes the whole spirit, the whole trend of the platform pamphlet entitled The Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions. Comrade Trotsky's platform pamphlet is shot through with the spirit of the 'shake-up-from-above' policy. ...but after its publication we had to say: *Comrade Trotsky is essentially wrong on all his new points*. This is most evident from a comparison of his theses with Rudzutak's which were adopted.... They are fuller and more correct than Trotsky's, and *wherever the latter differs from Rudzutak, he is wrong*. ...The fourth point is that 'industrial democracy' is a term that lends itself to misinterpretation. It may be read as a repudiation of dictatorship and individual authority. It may be read as a suspension of ordinary democracy or a pretext for evading it. Both readings are harmful, and cannot be avoided without long special commentaries. ...Trotsky's 'production atmosphere' is even wider of the mark, and Zinoviev had good reason to laugh at it....

Comrade Trotsky's 'production atmosphere' has essentially the same meaning as production propaganda, but such expressions must be avoided when production propaganda is addressed to the workers at large. The term is an example of how not to carry it on among the masses. ...Defence or camouflage of the political mistake expressed in the shake-up policy, which runs through the whole of Trotsky's platform pamphlet, and which, unless it is admitted and corrected, *leads to the collapse of the dictatorship of the proletariat*. ...That is where Zinoviev and myself, on the one hand, and Trotsky and Bukharin, on the other, actually stand on this question of politics and economics. I could not help smiling, therefore, when I read Comrade Trotsky's objection in his speech.... Comrade Trotsky thought these words were 'very much to the point.' Actually, however, *they reveal a terrible confusion of ideas, a truly hopeless 'ideological confusion*.' ...Comrade Trotsky's political mistakes, aggravated by Comrade Bukharin, distract our Party's attention from economic tasks and 'production' work, and, unfortunately, make us waste time on correcting them and arguing it out with the syndicalist deviation (which leads to the collapse of the dictatorship of the proletariat), objecting to the incorrect approach to the trade union movement (which leads to the collapse of the Soviet power), and debating general 'theses' instead of having a practical and business-like 'economic' discussion.... Once again we find political mistakes distracting attention from economic tasks. I was against this 'broad' discussion, and I believed, and still do, that it was a mistake--a political mistake--on Comrade Trotsky's part to disrupt the work of the trade union commission, which ought to have held a business-like discussion. *For Trotsky has made the Party waste time on a discussion of words and bad theses*.... We who are breaking new ground must put in a long, persistent and patient effort to retrain men and change the old habits which have come down to us from capitalism, but this can only be done little by little. *Trotsky's approach is quite wrong*. In his December 30th speech he exclaimed: 'Do or do not our workers, Party and trade union functionaries have any production training? Yes or no? I say: No. This is a ridiculous approach. It is like asking whether a division has enough felt boots: Yes or no? It is safe to say that even ten years from now we shall have to admit that all our Party and trade union functionaries do not have enough production training.... ...And it is this rule that Comrade Trotsky has broken by his theses and approach. *All his theses, his entire platform pamphlet, are so wrong that they have diverted the Party's attention and resources from practical 'production' work to a lot of empty talk*. ...Trotsky's mistake is 'insufficient support for the school-of-communism idea';.... ...Whether you take it in the form it assumed at the Fifth All-Russia Conference of Trade Unions, or as it was presented and slanted by Trotsky himself in his platform pamphlet of December 25th, you will find that his whole approach is quite wrong and that he has gone off at a tangent. He has failed to understand that the trade unions can and must be viewed as a school both when raising the question of 'Soviet trade-unionism,' and when speaking of production propaganda in general.... On this last point, as it is presented in Trotsky's platform pamphlet, the mistake lies in his failure to grasp that the trade unions are a school of technical and administrative management of production. ...the trade unions, whichever way you look at them, are a school. They are a school of unity, solidarity, management and administration, where you learn how to protect your interests. Instead of making an effort to comprehend and correct *Comrade Trotsky's fundamental mistake*, Comrade Bukharin has produced a funny little amendment. ...let me say that Comrade Trotsky's fundamental mistake is that he treats (rather maltreats) the questions he himself had brought up in his platform pamphlet as administrative ones, whereas they could be and ought to be viewed only from the administrative angle.... The state is a sphere of coercion. *It would be madness to renounce coercion, especially in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat*.... The Party is the leader, the vanguard of the proletariat, which rules directly. *It is not coercion but expulsion from the Party that is the specific means of influence and the means of purging and steeling the vanguard.* The trade unions are a reservoir of the state power, a school of communism and a school of management. The specific and cardinal thing in this sphere is not administration but the 'ties' 'between the central state administration,' 'the national economy and the broad masses of the working people. The whole of Trotsky's platform pamphlet betrays an incorrect approach to the problem and a misunderstanding of this relationship. This is essentially a political question. Because of the substance of the case--this concrete, particular 'case'--*it is impossible to correct Trotsky's mistake by means of eclectic little amendments and addenda*, as Bukharin has been trying to do, being moved undoubtedly by the most humane sentiments and intentions. *Trotsky and Bukharin have produced a hodgepodge of political mistakes in approach*, breaks in the middle of the transmission belts, and unwarranted and futile attacks on 'administrative steerage.' It is now clear where the 'theoretical source of the mistake lies, since Bukharin has taken up that aspect of it with his example of the tumbler. His theoretical mistake lies in his substitution of eclecticism for dialectics. His eclectic approach has confused him and has landed him in syndicalism. **Trotsky's mistake is one-track thinking, compulsiveness, exaggeration and obstinacy**. ...Incidentally, Comrade Trotsky says in his theses that 'over the last period we have not made any headway towards the goal set forth in the Programme but have in fact retreated from it.' That statement is unsupported, and, I think, wrong. ...And Trotsky has no one but himself to blame for having come out--after the November Plenary Meeting, which gave a clear-cut and theoretically correct solution--with a factional pamphlet on 'the two trends' and proposed a formulation in his thesis 41 which is wrong in economic terms. Today, January 25, it is exactly one month since Comrade Trotsky's factional statement. It is now patent that this pronouncement, inappropriate in form and wrong in essence, has diverted the Party from its practical economic and production effort into rectifying political and theoretical mistakes. But it's an ill wind, as the old saying goes. In this one month, Petrograd, Moscow and a number of provincial towns have shown that the Party responded to the discussion and *has rejected Comrade Trotsky's wrong line by an overwhelming majority*. While there may have been some vacillation 'at the top' and 'in the provinces', in the committees and in the offices, the rank-and-file membership--*the mass of Party workers--came out solidly against this wrong line*. ...In any case, his January 23 announcement shows that the Party, without so much as mustering all its forces, and with only Petrograd, Moscow and a minority of the provincial towns going on record, has *corrected Comrade Trotsky's mistake promptly and with determination*. The Party's enemies had rejoiced too soon. They have not been able--and will never be able--to take advantage of some of the inevitable disagreements within the Party to inflict harm on it and on the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia.

In a January 1921 article entitled The Party Crisis Lenin states, "The Central Committee sets up a trade union commission and elects Comrade Trotsky to it. He refuses to work on the commission, magnifying by this step alone his original mistake, which subsequently leads to factionalism...."

**POST #10**

THIS POST IS OUR FINAL REVELATION OF LENIN'S CRITICISMS OF TROTSKY

During a 1921 "Speech on the Trade Unions" Lenin stated, "Comrade Trotsky now laughs at my asking who started it all, and is surprised that I should reproach him for refusing to serve on the commission. I did it because this is very important Comrade Trotsky, very important, indeed; your refusal to serve on the trade union commission was *a violation of Central Committee discipline*."

In a 1922 article entitled "Reply to Remarks Concerning the Functions of the Deputy Chairmen of the Council of People's Commisars" Lenin said, "Some of Trotsky's remarks are likewise vague (for example, the 'apprehensions' in paragraph 4) and do not require an answer; other remarks made by him renew old disagreements, that we have repeatedly observed in the Political Bureau.... As regards the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, *Comrade Trotsky is fundamentally wrong*.... As regards the State Planning Commission, *Comrade Trotsky is not only absolutely wrong but is judging something on which he is amazingly ill-informed*. ...The second paper from Comrade Trotsky...contains, first, an extremely excited but profoundly erroneous 'criticism' of the Political Bureau decree on setting up a financial triumvirate.... Secondly, this paper flings the same fundamentally wrong and intrinsically untrue accusations of academic method at the State Planning Commission, accusations which lead up to *the next incredibly uninformed statement by Comrade Trotsky*...."

In a letter to Lyubimov written in 1909 Lenin stated, "As regards Trotsky, I must say that I shall be most vigorously opposed to helping him if he rejects (and he has already rejected it!) equality on the editorial board, proposed to him by a member of the C.C. Without a settlement of this question by the Executive Committee on the Bolshevik Centre, no steps to help Trotsky are permissible."

In a letter to Alexandra Kollontai written in 1917 Lenin really blasted Trotsky by saying, "Pleasant as it was to learn from you of the victory of N.Iv. and Pavlov in Novy Mir (I get this newspaper devilishly irregularly;...it was just as sad to read about the bloc between Trotsky and the Right for the struggle against N. Iv. *What a swine this Trotsky is*--Left phrases, and a bloc with the Right against the Zimmerwald Left!! He ought to be exposed (by you) if only in a brief letter to the Social-Democrat!"

In another Letter to Kollontai written after August 1915 Lenin stated, "Roland-Holst, like Rakovsky...like Trotsky, in my opinion, are all the most harmful 'Kautskians,' in the sense that all of them in various forms are for unity with the opportunists, all in various forms *embellish* opportunism, all of them (in various way) preach eclecticism instead of revolutionary Marxism."

In an equally powerful letter to Inessa Armand written about the same time Lenin states, "...Trotsky arrived, and *this scoundrel* at once ganged up with the Right wing of Novy Mir against the Left Zimmerwaldist! That's it!! *That's Trotsky for you!! Always true to himself==twists, swindles, poses as a Left, helps the Right, so long as he can*...."

In a 1911 article entitled "The State of Affairs of the Party" Lenin stated, What is the attitude of the other factions abroad? Trotsky, of course, is solidly behind the liquidators.... There are Party people, and liquidators who have broken away and set up a separate group. Groups abroad, like those of Golos, Trotsky, the Bund, and Vperyod, want to cover up the break-away of the liquidators, help them to hide under the banner of the R.S.D.L.P., and help them to thwart the rebuilding of the R.S.D.L.P. It is our task at all costs to rebuff the liquidators and, despite their opposition, recreate the R.S.D.L.P.... The 'conciliators' put their trust in Trotsky, who has clearly executed a full turn towards the liquidators.... We Bolsheviks have resolved on no account to repeat the error of conciliationism today. This would mean slowing down the rebuilding of the R.S.D.S.P, and entangling it in a new game with the Golos people (or *their lackeys, like Trotsky*), the Vperyodists and so forth."

In 1911 Lenin stated in an article, "We know that there are people who, while recognizing the need to fight the liquidators, object to a complete break with them and continue (even now!) to speak of 'conciliation' or 'agreement'. Among these people are not only *the 'loyal servitors' of Trotsky, whom very few people now take seriously*."

In a 1912 "Report on the Work of the International Socialist Bureau" Lenin stated, "I was no longer about able to talk to the Golos people and looked at Trotsky with disapproval, especially over the letter."

In a 1915 letter to Herman Gorter Lenin stated, "I congratulate you on your splendid attacks on opportunism and Kautsky. Trotsky's principal mistake is that he does not attack this gang."

In a letter to Kamenev Lenin stated, "What is the purpose of our policy now, at this precise moment? To build the Party core not on *the cheap phrases of Trotsky and Co.* but on genuine ideological rapprochement between the Plekhanovites and the Bolsheviks."

In a March 1916 letter to Henriette Roland-Holst Lenin commented, "What are our differences with Trotsky? This must probably interest you. *In brief--he is a Kautskyite*, that is, he stands for unity with the Kautskyites in the International and with Chkheidze's parliamentary group in Russia. We are absolutely against such unity.... Trotsky at present is against the Organizing Committee (Axelrod and Martov) but for unity with the Chkheidze Duma group!! We are decidedly against."

In a 1909 Letter to Zinoview Lenin stated, "As regards Pravda, have you read Trotsky's letter to Inok? If you have, I hope it has convinced you that Trotsky behaves like a despicable careerist and factionalist of the Ryazanov-and-Co. type. Either equality on the editorial board, subordination to the CC and no one's transfer to Paris except Trotsky's (the scoundrel, he wants to 'fix up' the who rascally crew of Pravda at our expense!)--or break with this swindler and and exposure of him in the CO. He pays lip-service to the Party and behaves worse than any other of the factionalists.

In a 1916 letter to Zinoviev Lenin said, "We had better deal with Trotsky in Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata; he has to be dealt with at greater length."

In another letter to Zinoviev in the same year Lenin stated, "...It's ghastly. I don't know what to do. Yet something has still to be written about opportunism (I have 1/2 of it ready), about defeatism, and about Trotskyism (including the Duma group + P. S. D.).

In a March 1916 article entitled The Peace Programme Lenin stated, "What about Trotsky? He is body and soul for self-determination, but in his case, too, it is an empty phrase, for he does not demand freedom of secession for nations oppressed by the 'fatherland' of the socialist of the given nationality; he is silent about the hypocrisy of Kautsky and his followers.'

In a July 1916 article entitled The Discussion on Self-determination Summed Up Lenin stated, "No matter what the subjective 'good' intentions of Trotsky and Martov may be, teir evasiveness objectively supports Russian social-imperialism."

In a report to the 7th Congress of the R.C.P. (B.) Lenin stated, "What I predicted has come to pass; instead of the Brest peace we have a much more humiliating peace, and the blame for this rests upon those [e.g. Trotsky] who refused to accept the former peace."

**Final words**

COMMENTS BY TROTSKY ABOUT LENIN

And we must certainly not forget the following opinions of Lenin expressed by Trotsky in a 1913 Letter to Chkeidze in which he stated, "The wretched squabbling systematically provoked by Lenin, that old hand at the game, that professional exploiter of all that is backward in the Russian labour movement, seems like a senseless obsession.... The entire edifice of Leninism Is built on lies and falsification and bears within itself the poisonous elements of its own decay."

WELL, THERE YOU HAVE IT LADIES AND GENTLEMAN; SPELLED OUT BY 10 POSTS IN ALL ITS GORY DETAIL.

NOW YOU KNOW WHY TROTSKY WAS THE ONLY MAJOR LEADER NOT AT LENIN'S FUNERAL.

NOW YOU KNOW WHY TROTSKY WAS NEVER SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED FOR THE POSITION OF GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PARTY.

NOW YOU KNOW WHY TROTSKY'S PROGRAM WAS SOLIDLY AND ROUNDLY REJECTED AT THE 13TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1924 AND THE 15TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1927, THE LATTER BY A VOTE OF 740,000 T0 4,000.

AND ABOVE ALL, NOW YOU KNOW WHY TROTSKYISM IS NOT MARXISM-LENINISM.

***NOTE:*** This article is a compilation of quotations by V. I. Lenin on L. Trotsky, assembled by **Claud Dennis 'Klo' McKinsey.** Klo's "10 POSTINGS" were shared by a friend with Saad Yousaf Aahni who edited it for the publication at the *Left Progressive Review.* Perhaps it is for the first time this is formally published in a journal as the Editor couldn't find any reliable source containing Klo's 'Lenin denounces Trotsky' over any site at internet till the publication of this Periodical. However, the Editor believes that it was once available at the late Klo's personal web page but the link is now defunct. The quest for reliable source lead the Editor to Klo's conversations at a Google group (*alt.politics.socialism.trotsky)* where few of the ten posts were found directly posted by him between 18th March 1996 and 5th April 1996 through an email *(klo_mckinsey@mecsys.mec.ohio.gov*).

# Class Analysis of Religious Fundamentalism in Pakistan

Dr. Taimur Rahman

Karl Marx is back with a vengeance. After the global financial crisis of 2007, even mainstream economists have begun to speak about Marx's revenge. From Latin America, to Europe, and Arab countries there has been an enormous new development of popular mobilization challenging US hegemony and neo-liberalism. These developments open new possibilities for the communist movement to connect with the masses for a socialist transformation.

All this when only a few years back it was declared and uncritically accepted that there can be no alternative to new-liberal capitalism, history had allegedly ended, and even the human capacity to observe and understand the world was questioned based on, amongst other things, the limitations of language.

However, in Pakistan the situation is very different. In our country the communist movement remains relatively weak. Reactionary political forces like religious fundamentalism, military dictatorship, imperialism, comprador capitalists, and landlords remain relatively strong. The main reason for this weakness is the lack of ideological and theoretical rigor. In the relative absence of channels through which Marxism-Leninism can be propagated to the masses in a consistent and organized manner, the ideology of various propertied classes remains hegemonic amongst the mass of workers and peasants. Moreover, within the ranks of the left, opportunism and revisionism remain dominant.

The most important thing to understand with respect to the class struggle within Pakistan is that there is a complex dynamic contradiction between various reactionary political forces in the country. To determine how Communists can negotiate a positional war through the contradictions among the reactionaries, our movement must first understand the class nature of these reactionary forces, in relation to the class struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Only when one has grasped the class nature of these various reactionary forces, and developed a clear strategic orientation towards them, can one devise the correct strategy and tactics to gain victory in the class struggle.

The most important transformation to have occurred in Pakistan the recent past was the end of military dictatorship, the formation of an elected government, the escalating war with religious extremism, all within the overall context of the continuing NATO occupation of Afghanistan and the dominance of US imperialism in the region. In this context then, five central questions have to be answered with respect to the class struggle in Pakistan. These are: how does the party view the role of the Pakistan military? What is the position of the party, towards the US imperialism and the occupation of Afghanistan? What is the class character of religious fundamentalism? What should be the attitude of the party of the proletariat towards the elected government? And how can the working class confront these various reactionary forces and be victorious.

**The Party's Struggle Against Dictatorship**

In the period of military rule (till February 2008), our Party supported all "democratic forces" fighting against Musharraf's dictatorship. We understood the reactionary class and political character of these "democratic forces" but in the larger struggle against military dictatorship, we aimed our main criticism at the Musharraf regime. At the same time, we remained opposed to the extreme right-wing fundamentalists that had lodged themselves within the democratic movement (such as the JI, JUI, and other fundamentalist parties).

Our party won thousands of sympathizers from the heady days of street battles, when we were in the front lines of the clashes with the police. We rekindled the appreciation of progressive poetry by reviving the memory of Faiz and Habib Jalib, singing them in the streets of Pakistan and attracting people to the red banner of revolution. Many journalists expressed their surprise at activists robustly raising the traditional slogans of the Left during major rallies of the lawyers' movement. Many lawyers, who had any past association with the Left, were instantly attracted towards the sight of the red flag and the octagonal Mao caps. Young students, out of curiosity, inquired about the new crimson element on the streets and got to know about the strong tradition of resistance and struggle that Left carries forward. They were even more astonished to know that Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Habib Jalib, whose poetry also returned and was received with great appreciation, were also leading figures of the Left in their times.

Many people, however, were at that time not clear regarding why the Left engaged with the lawyers' movement in the first place. The Left participated in the lawyers' movement to connect it with other anti-dictatorship movements that occurred in the past eight years, in order to help in building a larger movement for socialism–something running contrary to the goals of the religious right-wing. Our party made attempts within its capacity to build a movement that could address the basic question of the Pakistani State and society, and efforts were made to invite groups like Anjumen-e-Mazareen Punjab (AMP), Railway Workers' Union (RWU), and the striking PTCL workers to the lawyers' processions.

We also brought to the democratic movement a theoretical rigor that was wholly absent in capitalist-democratic forces. And most importantly, we mobilized the working class and brought them into political action to defend workers rights and to struggle against military rule.

With the dastardly attack that killed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, we sharpened our ideological attacks against right-wing forces especially the intellectual hacks of the military and the mullahs. On the streets we ideologically defended democratic rights, the right to elect a government, and for power to be transferred to the elected representatives of the people, and so on.

Between February 18th and August 18th, the elected government and Musharraf loyalists existed in an uneasy and tenuous situation. While the right-wing forces of the APDM, conveniently, forgot about the forces of military rule and concentrated their fire against the elected government. We felt that it was a mistake to align, or join with, the right-wing All Parties Democratic Movement (APDM), against the elected government. A degree of confusion was created when many parties of the Left - including Labor Party of Pakistan (LPP) and National Workers' Party (NWP)- decided to join the All Pakistan Democratic Movement (APDM). And the LPP called for a boycott of the elections of 2008. This APDM-Left argued that the APDM was not dominated by the right wing and or that the alliance helped them in expanding the scope of their political activity. One of the parties of the Left that did not join the APDM, a noteworthy exception, was the Communist Mazdoor Kissan Party (CMKP), which held that the Left must unite itself as a secular-democratic force in efforts to distinguish itself as a progressive force in the democratic movement, refraining from partaking in an alliance that has known reactionary right-wingers as its leading faces.

Another debate that was waged with passion in the circles of the Left was the position regarding the conflict with Islamic militants in the tribal areas of Pakistan. The Left that mingled with APDM called for an immediate stoppage of the military operation for the reasons that it targeted civilians, lacked efficiency due to double-dealings of the ISI and was conducted under the directions of the U.S. Imperialism. The CMKP, finding itself alone here as well, took a different stance. Vehemently opposing the civilian casualties, the double-dealings of the ISI, and the U.S. drone attacks, the CMKP argued that history and circumstances have led Pakistan to such a stage where extremism cannot be rooted out through peaceful dialogues and negotiations. Such means, it is believed, have a negative outcome as they allow the militants to get back on the offensive. Hence, it is essential to use force to deal with the threat of religious fanaticism.

The aftermath of the Mumbai terrorist attacks has appeared as a great challenge for Pakistan's communists. To understand the predicament faced by us, it must be understood that we have always directed our efforts against the Military-Mullah alliance: the elements of quintessential mainstream politics in Pakistan. These two institutions have always stood in the path of even the smallest transition of our country towards democracy- both feed on jingoism and excessively anti-Indian hate-mongering, in order to conceal their retrogressive and narrow political stance.
The distressing tragedy of Mumbai was followed by astute chauvinist nationalism, employing the electronic and print media to further its cause. Retrogressive forces were resurrected, in a planned manner, and zealous calls of "unity" are being given. The party, in these circumstances, was left with no option but to oppose the politics of hate mongering and jingoism.

Since August 18th, the victory over the previous regime was complete. However, one of the vital movements that played a key role in the ouster of Musharraf, the Lawyer's movement, was bitterly disappointed that the Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry was not restored. At the same time, the activities of religious extremists increased, leading to the Bajour operation in the very same month of August. Again, while being critical of the military operation itself (that resulted in displaced people and numerous civilian casualties), we were supportive of the elected government against religious extremists.

Our main and arguably only motivation for supporting the forces of capitalist-democracy against military dictatorship was to win more democratic space in order to organize the most revolutionary class of Pakistani society: the working class. Encouraged by the victory over military dictatorship, the workers movement forged forward. This may not have been obvious to those that were focusing on the mainstream media. But our party, connected strongly with the working class movement, could see the enormous difference. In this regard, our specifically working class campaigns began to bear greater results. Both our campaign on the food crisis and now our campaign for the enforcement of minimum wages, where we bravely faced beatings and arrests, began to bear fruit. We developed mass support among the textile workers of Lahore and advanced the banner of Marxism-Leninism in the face of hostile reactionary forces.

Thus, our line of march has been to ally with the forces of capitalist-democracy against military dictatorship and right-wing forces in order to win more democratic space for the workers movement, while at the same time maintaining an independent Marxist-Leninist class position in opposition to capitalist ideology and influence and building the class organizations (unions) and revolutionary organization (communist party) of the working class. Aside from individual errors, we believe that the general line of the CMKP was correct and we have won many victories as a result.

In the period after this struggle, the greatest confusion in continuing the struggle to build the party was over the question of religious fundamentalist. During the Cold War the relationship between religious fundamentalism and US imperialism was, relatively speaking, a simple one. They were united against all progressive democratic and socialist movements in the Muslim world. But since September 11th this relationship has undergone a dramatic change, especially in the context of Pakistan.

Whereas previously there was only collaboration between these two reactionary forces now there's both violent contradiction and collaboration. And this fundamental new fact is still not fully understood by left forces in Pakistan.

The violent clash between Islamic fundamentalism and US imperialism is understood by certain left organizations in Pakistan as an anti-imperialist struggle. From certain quarters the argument has been propagated that the left in Pakistan should support the Taliban. For instance, International Socialists have argued that the Taliban are the equivalent of the Vietminh. Others may not have openly called for support for the Taliban but have, nonetheless, been strong advocates of the position that the Taliban should not be criticized openly in public because they are waging an anti imperialist struggle.

On the other side are those liberals and regional nationalists that argue that the left should support the occupation of Afghanistan or the drone strikes in Pakistan. Their position is that the principal contradiction within Pakistan is with the military establishment that is wedded to Islamic fundamentalism. The only way to defeat Islamic fundamentalism is by supporting, explicitly or tacitly, US imperialism.

Our party rejects both these positions. We argue the case for popular resistance to imperialism, Islamic fundamentalism, and military rule. We understand that this is by no means an easy task. In the current period that follows from a long period of historic defeats of the working class movement it is very difficult to organize and wage such a popular struggle. Nonetheless, this must be our strategic orientation no matter how hard the task is and no matter how long it takes to complete it. To wage such a struggle it is important for the working class to understand and be familiar with class character of these reactionary forces.

**What is the Class basis of Islamic Fundamentalism?**

It is our contention that the Islamic fundamentalists represent a reactionary and restorationist movement. The term reactionary refers to any movement or ideology that "opposes change or progress in society, and which seeks a return to a previous state." It is restorationist in the sense that it adheres to the belief that pristine or original Islam should be restored. In fact, this movement opposes the entire social, cultural, political, economic, and ideological revolution associated with the rise of modern capitalism. Whether we speak of modern education, the emancipation of women, the ideas of enlightenment, the scientific revolution, and so on, in all these things and more we find that Islamic fundamentalism sets itself in opposition to the march of history.

How is it possible that 500 years after the emergence of capitalism and at least a century after the capitalist transformation of South Asia, such a reactionary and restorationist movement could have come about and gained influence. Does this not contradict one of the principles of Marxism that history must move in a progressive direction?

The answer is, quite simply, that Marxism does not preach a unilinear evolutionism (one sided historical development towards progress). It is premised upon the dialectics of class struggle that includes both the possibility of progress and the possibility of reaction. Classes defend their interests. Hence it is only logical that pre-capitalist classes will also attempt to roll back and reverse the tide of history that is rendered them powerless. Socialism or barbarism: these are the choices in front of mankind. And just as capitalism could emerge even after 70 years of socialist progress, in the same way a reactionary and restorationist movement has gained ground in the context of Pakistan. Let us look at the evidence for the reactionary and restorationist class character of Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan.

**The Form of the State under the Fundamentalists**

First, Islamic fundamentalists are vehemently opposed to democracy (whether capitalist or proletariat). For all these forces, participation within parliaments is merely a matter of tactics. In their strategic and ideological orientation they remain mortally opposed to the idea that sovereignty can belong to the people through their elected representatives. For them the ideal form of government is one in which the mullahs are unable to rule over the public in the name of religion. In other words, they are advocates of the ideological and political dictatorship of Islamic fundamentalism as a whole.

Their understanding in terms of legal and political rights is basically a throwback to mediaeval laws. For instance, among Sunni Muslims they advocate strict adherence to one of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence (Malki, Shafi, Hanbali, Hanafi). They are completely unwilling to recognize the advances made by mankind in the development of rights since that period. Let us take a few examples from the regime that the Taliban created in Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001. Here are some of the laws issued by the Taliban government in Afghanistan.

- "A denier of veil is an infidel and an unveiled woman is lewd."
- The veil must cover the whole body.
- Women's clothes must not be thin.
- Women's clothes must not be decorated and colorful.
- Women's clothes must not be narrow and tight to prevent the seditious limbs from being noticed.

- The veil must not be thin.
- Women must not perfume themselves. If a perfumed woman passes by a crowd of men, she is considered to be an adulteress.
- Women's clothes must not resemble men's clothes.
- Muslim women's clothes must not resemble non-Muslim women's clothes.
- Their foot ornaments must not produce sound.
- They must not wear sound-producing garments.
- They must not walk in the middle of streets.
- They must not go out of their houses without their husband's permission.
- They must not talk to strange men.
- If it is necessary to talk, they must talk in a low voice and without laughter.
- They must not look at strangers.
- They must not mix with strangers.
- All ground and first floor residential windows should be painted over or screened to prevent women being visible from the street.
- They banned the photographing or filming of women. And also banned displaying pictures of females in newspapers, books, shops, or even the home.
- They changed the names of all places that included the word "women." For example, "women's garden" was renamed "spring garden".
- Women were forbidden to appear on the balconies of their apartments or houses.
- There was a ban on women's presence on radio, television, or at public gatherings of any kind.
- There was a ban on women riding bicycles or motorcycles, even with their mahrams.
- Women were forbidden from riding in a taxi without a mahram.
- Segregated bus services were introduced to prevent males and females traveling on the same bus.
- On September 30th 1996 the Taliban decreed that all women should be banned from employment. Some 25 percent of government employees were female. All lost their employment. Elementary education of children, not just girls, was shut down in Kabul, where virtually all of the elementary school teachers were women.
- Women were banned from studying in schools or universities.
- Women were not allowed to gather for any recreational purposes.
- Women were prohibited from practicing family planning.
- Male doctors could not treat women.
- A surgical team containing a male member could not operate upon women.
- Women were banned from playing sports, or entering a sport center or club.
- A woman could not petition the court directly; her testimony was declared worth half a man's testimony.
- Women were publicly stoned to death, and executed if accused of having sex outside of marriage.
- Women were forbidden to deal with male shopkeepers, or talk or shake hands with men outside their families.
- There was frequent whipping, beating, and verbal abuse of women not clothed in accordance with Taliban rules, or of women unaccompanied by a mahram.
- A woman could be whipped for having uncovered ankles.
- There was a ban on women washing clothes next to rivers or in a public place.
- They banned the Internet for all Afghans.
- There was a ban on male tailors taking women's measurements or sewing women's clothes.
- There was a ban on female public baths.
- There was a ban on flared (wide) pant-legs, even under a burqa.
- The Taliban banned the watching of movies, television and videos, for everyone.
- The Taliban banned celebrating the traditional New Year (Nowroz) and declared it un-Islamic.
- They banned Labor Day (May 1st), because it is deemed a "communist" holiday.
- They ordered that all people with non-Islamic names change them to Islamic ones.
- They forced haircuts upon Afghan youth.
- They ordered that men wear Islamic clothes and a cap.
- They ordered that men not shave or trim their beards, which should grow long enough to protrude from a fist clasped at the point of the chin.
- They ordered that all people attend prayers in mosques five times daily.
- They even banned the keeping of pigeons and playing with the birds, describing it as un-Islamic. They declared that the violators would be "imprisoned and the birds shall be killed". They also banned kite flying.
- At sports matches, they ordered all spectators to refrain from clapping and instead to shout Allah-o-Akbar to encourage sportsmen.
- They decreed that anyone carrying "objectionable literature" would be executed.
- They decreed that anyone who converts from Islam to any other religion would be executed.
- They ordered that all boy students must wear turbans. They say "No turban, no education".
- They ordered that non-Muslim minorities must distinct badge or stitch a yellow-cloth onto their dress to be differentiated from the majority Muslim population.

Here are some examples of the punishments that the Taliban government decreed.

- In October 1996, a woman had the tip of her thumb cut off for wearing nail varnish.
- In December 1996, Radio Shari'a announced that 225 Kabul women had been seized and punished for violating the Shari'a code of dress. A tribunal handed down the sentence and the women were lashed on their legs and backs for their misdemeanor.
- In March 1997, a married woman, from Laghman Province, was caught attempting to flee the district with another man. The Islamic tribunal found her guilty of adultery and condemned both her and her lover to death by stoning.
- In May 1997, 5 female CARE International employees with authorization from the Ministry of the Interior to conduct research for an emergency-feeding program were forced from their vehicle by members of the religious police. The guards used a public address system to insult and harass the women before striking them with a metal and leather whip over 1.5 meters (almost 5 feet) in length.
- In 1999, a mother of seven was executed in front of 30,000 spectators in Kabul's Ghazi Sport stadium for the murder of her abusive husband. She was imprisoned for 3 years and extensively tortured prior to the execution.
- When a Taliban raid discovered a woman running an informal school in her apartment, they beat the children; threw her down a flight of stairs causing her to break her leg; and then imprisoned her. They threatened to publicly stone her family if she didn't sign a declaration of loyalty to the Taliban and its laws.

The legacy of nearly a decade of fundamentalist rule is as follows:

- Up to now, nearly 79% of Afghan women cannot read nor write.
- Maternal mortality rates stood at the highest in the world with nearly 1,900 deaths per 100,000 live births. It is the singular achievement of the Taliban that they managed to reach the highest rate of maternal deaths recorded in history in the province of Badakshan: 6,500 deaths per 100,000 births.
- Up to 2004, UNICEF recorded more than 26 attacks against girl's schools.
- Enrollment as of 2004 still was at the dismal figure of 9% due to Taliban attacks, propaganda and assassinations of teachers.
- 57% of women are married off before the age of 16
- 72% do not know of any form of contraception, nor any way of delaying pregnancy.
- Even during conducting the sham elections, registration of women voters recorded the lowest levels in the south of the country: Zabul (9%), Helmand (12%), and Kandahar (27%): precisely the areas that were, and now have again fallen, under Taliban control.
- 97 percent of women surveyed show symptoms of major depression.
- 3/4 of the women say their health had declined.
- Opium is being taken by the women to ease the pain from inadequate health care.

No one today can deny the simple historical fact that this counter-revolution in Afghanistan was carried out by the Pakistani state. The collusion between the CIA and the ISI began with the decision on July 3, 1979 by President Carter to support the Mujahideen under the title of "Operation Cyclone". This CIA intervention began barely 6 months before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In fact, Zbegnew Brezinski openly accepted that US intervention began with the explicit objective of provoking a Soviet retaliation in order to trap the Soviet Union in an Afghan war.

Declassified documents of the CIA today prove beyond any shadow of a doubt that the United States of America first intervened in Afghanistan, attempted to topple the government of Afghanistan, and deliberately provoked war and counter-revolution in the region. These declassified documents are presented below:

Carter supports Mujahideen 1 available at http://www.activistmagazine.com/images/stories/government/carter_79-1581.jpg

Carter supports Mujahideen 2 available at http://www.activistmagazine.com/images/stories/government/carter_79-1579.jpg

Following Carter, President Reagan and Saudi Arabia provided another $3.5 billion to General Zia's regime to arm and train the mujahideen in various religious madrassahs. Leading mujahideen commanders were trained by the CIA in the Brooklyn School in New York and in Virginia. Moreover, it is also clear today that not only Saudi Arabia but Israel was also financing and arming this counter-revolution undertaken by the Mujahideen. Obviously, the so-called Mujahideen had no qualms about the fact that their financial support came from the same forces that were destroying the lives of Palestinians. Between 1979 and 1990 Jihad-related organisations and sectarian organizations doubled. By 2002, more than 7,000 madrassahs offered "degrees" in higher education. It is estimated that about 22,000 madrassahs reaching over 1.5 million children are active in Pakistan today.

Following in these illustrious footsteps the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and other fundamentalist parties have also undertaken the campaigned destruction across Pakistan. Over 1000 schools have been destroyed in Pakistan. They have undertaken public punishments, including gruesome torture and amputations that are a throwback to medieval practices. They have bombed the

Islamic University, the Shia processions, Moon Market of Lahore and many other civilian targets. The inquiry of the elected government has implicated the TTP in the December 2007 assassination of Benazir Bhutto. They killed the Governor of Punjab Salman Taseer and the minister of minorities Shahbaz Bhatti. They attacked the Sri Lankan cricket team. They have killed countless tribal leaders in the northern areas. For instance, they claimed responsibility for the November 6th, 2008 attack that killed 16 tribal elders and injured 31 others in Bajour. The TTP claimed responsibility for the coordinated strike in Lahore against the buildings used by the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), the Manawan Police Training School and the Elite Police Academy on March 30th, 2009. They have killed many NGO workers. For instance, they took responsibility for an attack against the UN's World Food Program Islamabad office on October 5, 2009. In Lahore they attacked two mosques of the Ahmedi community in May 2010. On March 8, 2011 they blew up a gas station in Faislabad that killed at least 32 and injured another 125 innocent people. On April 4, 2011 they attacked the Sufi shrine during the time of the annual Urs in Dera Ghazi Khan killing more than 50 and leaving more than 120 injured. Similarly, they attack Data Darbar causing mass casualties. They attacked Baba Fareed's mazar in Pakpattan. And they attack Rehman Baba's shrine. They have targeted the homes, families, and even the funeral processions of their opponents. The government estimates that more than 36,000 people have been the victims of terrorism in Pakistan. Hence, it is clear that religious fundamentalists are in an all out war with the rest of society and the march of history.

This extreme brutality has turned the Pakistani public against them. Public opinion has rapidly shifted against the Taleban. Latest opinion polls indicate that about 80 to 90% of the public as opposed to the Taliban.

This swing in public opinion had the potential of turning the population against religious fundamentalism in all its manifestations. To counteract this swing public opinion, right wing forces within the Pakistani mainstream media have very successfully convinced large segments of the Pakistani population that these attacks are not being carried out by religious fundamentalists or by the Taliban but by the intelligence agencies of India, Israel, and the United States. This deliberate confusion created through the mass media has dissipated the energy of the masses that would otherwise have been directed against the religious fundamentalists. At the same time, it has strengthened the hand of the establishment in redirecting the anger against religious fundamentalists against the real or perceived enemies of the Pakistani ruling class.

**Economic relations under Islamic fundamentalism**

Let us also look at the economic relations that form the basis of the Taliban. It is no secret that the Taliban are the continuation of the Mujahedin. Hence to understand the Taleban we have to go back in history and understand the emergence of the Mujahedin after the Saur Revolution in Afghanistan. Let us look at the economic content of the Saur revolution especially in relation to agrarian relations.

1. Decree number 6 in 1978 dealt with the issue of peasant debt. The PDPA ended the Gerow system and declared that peasants need not make any further interest payments on all lands mortgaged before 1974.
2. Furthermore, landless peasants and labourers (All those owning less than 5 acres of land) were totally exempted from repayment of any debt. This act benefited an estimated 81% of the peasantry. The PDPA created Woleswali Committee and Provincial Committee to ensure that decree 6 would be implemented and not remain an empty promise.
3. On the 17th of October 1978 the PDPA declared Decree number 7 pertained to marriage laws. A minimum age of 16 for girld and 18 for boys was declared and consent of both partners in a marriage was made mandatory. Furthermore, a restriction of 300 Afghanis was placed on maher (bride price). These laws curtailed the practice of treating women as commodities.
4. In January 1979 the PDPA declared and began to enforce a land ceiling of 15 acres. This dispossessed no more than 400 families but redistributed half the arable land of the country. One can see the enormous monopoly of power of the feudal lords that was shattered by the revolution.
5. Decree number 8 abolished the system of mirab (water manager who was a feudal lord) and water management was placed under the control of peasant committees.
6. A literacy campaign was set up to create universal literacy in ten years. Education was made universal, compulsory, and free for all women and men. The syllabus was modernized and student brigades were sent in thousand to villages to educate people. The National Agency for the Campaign Against Illiteracy educated 6,000 army men in the first six months.

We see then that the Saur Revolution challenged the class interests of the old ruling classes especially tribal leaders and landlords. These tribal leaders and landlords were eager to fight the Saur Revolution. In order to wage this class struggle to defend their tribal and landed interests they raised the slogan that "Islam was in danger". Those poor people who were influenced by the slogan did not understand that in fact they were merely defending the class interests of tribal leaders and landlords. In other words, Islamic fundamentalism was nothing other than the ideology with which they would dupe the oppressed masses into supporting a counter-revolution.

Inevitably, the hold of such tribal leaders and landlords was strongest in areas where modern ideas had had not yet penetrated. Hence, generally speaking these fundamentalists were stronger in rural areas but weaker in the urban areas of Afghanistan. Just as today they are strongest in the most backward and pre-capitalist tribal areas of Pakistan. This is also because their ideological influence is strongest in those regions of Pakistan where pre-capitalist relations predominate. Where the differentiation of the peasantry, owing to spread of capitalism, has not taken shape, and where the oppressed masses still continue to hold their immediate class superiors in high regard.

Electoral behavior indicates that Islamic fundamentalists, although well armed and backed by the state, have failed to win a broad based popular following. The parties that have gathered the largest number of votes in the 1970, 1977, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2002 and 2008 elections have been the Awami League, the PPP, the PML-N, the ANP and the MQM, along with smaller nationalist parties.

**What is the attitude of the workers party to pre-capitalist classes?**

This extremely important question has been answered superbly in Engels article "The Prussian Military Question".

We have seen that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat-are both progeny of a new era and that in their social function both are striving to eliminate the remnants of the bric-a-brac left over from earlier times. It is true that there is a most serious conflict to be settled between them, but this conflict can only be fought out when they are facing each other alone. Only by jettisoning the old lumber can the "decks be cleared for battle" — except that this time the battle will be fought not between two ships but on board the one ship, between officers and crew.

In other words, the workers party, while maintaining its political independence, must first defeat the pre-capitalist classes in order to open the road for a socialist society. In other words, the defeat of the pre-capitalist classes is a prerequisite for the struggle for socialism.

If we accept this statement by Engels as a general principle on which to organize Communist politics, and we have no reason to think otherwise, then it stands to reason that the proletariat party cannot stand aside in this great struggle against religious fundamentalism. In the course of our struggle, however, the party has encountered and had to confront, ideologically and organizationally, many opportunities in this regard.

Our party had to confront arguments such as “the Taleban are anti-imperialists and should be supported”, “opposition to Taleban is an elitist, pro-imperialist, NGOist demand”, “opposition to the Taleban will mean opposition to religion which will isolate us from the masses of people”, “why should we engage with an enemy that is much better armed than we are”, “ why should Communists enter into war with the enemies of our enemy”.

All these positions do not understand that the increasing power of the Taleban, or religious fundamentalists in general, implies proportionately decreasing power and opportunity for the proletariat to organise itself as a class. Marx was prophetic when he stated that the proletariat needs democracy, even bourgeois democracy, even more than the bourgeoisie itself. In Pakistan, the bourgeoisie is at best vacillating in its commitment towards the struggle for secular democracy. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie in Pakistan has actively encouraged, especially since the 1970s, religious fundamentalism to suppress struggle for socialism and democracy. Hence, no matter the objective size of our forces, the historical reality is that all the tasks associated with the rise of bourgeois revolutions have been bequeathed to the proletariat revolution.

US imperialism or the Armed Forces of Pakistan are interested only in fighting laws of religious fundamentalist groups that are no longer under their control. As soon as they are able to come to an agreement with the Taleban over the shares of war and exploitation, they will be at peace with each other as they were during the Cold War. For the working class it is different. In order to emancipate itself, the working class must confront and defeat religious fundamentalism as a whole, the ruling establishment of Pakistan and capitalist imperialism.

**NOTE**: *A shorter version of this article “Dehshatgardi Murdabad!” was published in Express Tribune on October 20, 2011.*

# Ukraine's place in the bigger picture

Imran Barlas

It is disturbing to see John McCain, a US senator and war hawk, rushing to Ukraine and cheering on crowds of protestors to revolt against their own government. Under no circumstances would the US allow a foreign politician a travel visa to fly over for the express purpose of inciting people to revolt against the White House but this is exactly what McCain is doing in Ukraine. Ukraine is one in a series of countries where McCain has inflamed hostilities with disastrous results. Recall that, just last year, he made an illegal trip to Syria to lend support to rebels who turned out to be criminals and terrorists, and in 2011 he was directly involved in policy-making that led to the destruction of Libya, a country that previously had the highest human development index in the region.

Now that Ukraine has reached boiling point, McCain appears in group photographs, as usual with the most unsavoury elements, including outspoken right-wing neo-Nazis who play a major role in the protests. It is now this land, which shares borders with Russia, which commands the closest attention of the powers that be in the US. Thus, it is worth examining recent events and their place in the bigger picture of international relations.

The present crisis in Ukraine does not have its basis in the fight for democracy, as McCain and his ilk proclaim. Ukraine is a typical democracy, and the current president of that democracy, President Viktor Yanukovych, was elected by ballot in 2010 with 48.95 percent of the vote, an outcome that was judged to be fair by the country's election commission and international observers. Today, despite the violent protests, recent polls show that Yanukovych's Party of Regions still has the highest electoral ratings. On the contrary, the crisis in Ukraine has its basis not in questions of democracy but in the intense competition for markets following the Great Recession of 2008, and an imperial agenda to isolate and weaken Russia.

Let us consider the sequence of events. In 2008, the Great Recession hit the world hard and shook US and European markets to the core. Unemployment reached staggering levels, banks and manufacturers suffered losses and were forced to either close down or merge to keep afloat, and the average consumer's purchasing power plummeted. A study of history will show that, under such circumstances, countries frequently try to re-divide the world and its markets between them to salvage their own positions through wars of conquest. The Great Depressions of the previous century, for instance, were notably accompanied with the most devastating world wars. Thus, we see that in the interest of acquiring new markets, in just over a decade, enough wars have been waged and enough civil conflict has been imposed by the civilised west upon isolated countries to make the most barbaric medieval periods seem tame by comparison. Since 2008, two countries, Libya and Syria, have already fallen victim to the ravenous appetite of the great powers for acquiring markets. And now Ukraine is the latest arena for the international powers to do battle with each other.

Yanukovych rejected the European Union's Association Agreement trade pact in favour of a more substantial loan from Russia to support industrial development. Signing the Association Agreement would have meant that the EU could have acquired a market of almost 45 million fresh consumers for European businesses. Since the EU competes with the Customs Union of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia, Ukraine's failure to sign the Association Agreement is being interpreted by many as a step away from membership in the European Union, even though that is not yet the case. This was Yanukovych's real crime, and the recent protests that are supported by the US and the leading European countries, are intended to put pressure on the administration to capitulate.

To be sure, Yanukovych's government, which represents a class of oligarchs, has obviously failed to fix glaring economic and social issues. Ukraine essentially remains one of the poorest countries in the region, and has serious problems with corruption and mafias. However, examining the choices for addressing economic problems, either to accept EU support where the returns were less evident and that were in any case conditional upon IMF-prescribed market reforms that required raising gas prices by 40 percent, or to accept a $ 15 billion loan and cheaper gas from Russia, it is not difficult to see why Yanukovych's government accepted Russian support.

The other question is how many more injuries Russia and its allies can bear to have inflicted on their interests and psyche? It really has been one assault after another upon Russian interests. First it was Libya, then Syria and now a country that Russia shares borders with. It is not only for trade-related reasons that Russia assigns the highest priority to maintaining its influence over Ukraine. Historically, the territories of both Ukraine and Poland have been used as a corridor to launch numerous invasions of Russia. Needless to say, Russia will relentlessly defend its interests there and nothing less should be expected. As proactive and involved as Russia was in seeking a diplomatic solution to the Syrian conflict, it is all but certain that the Russian response will be much more significant where it concerns a country on its border. So, it is bewildering that even with such knowledge, western administrations, and particularly the US, continue to make foreign policy choices that are gradually leading to a head-on collision with Russia.

As for President Yanukovych, there are few possible outcomes, and a middle-of-the-ground solution looks very unlikely. One

possible outcome that is actively being sought by the US and EU is that the crisis will force Yanukovych's capitulation. Yanukovych had previously favoured Ukraine gaining EU membership, so this is not unthinkable. The second is that the crisis may drive his party further into the arms of Russia. This is, after all, the second time he has suffered from a colour revolution, and perhaps he and his party have just about had enough.

**Source**: http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/07-Feb-2014/ukraine-s-place-in-the-bigger-picture

# A Tribute to Stalin on the 61st Anniversary of his Death

Joseph Phinn

Today is a sad and solemn day as it marks the 61st anniversary of the death of Comrade Stalin. But that also makes it a joyous and glorious day, an opportunity to remember the work of possibly the 21st Century's most important man. As a communist, that is not to place Stalin above Lenin, but to recognize the historical fact that Stalin both happened to be the man the greatest tasks of the era fell to, but also that he was capable of rising to these great challenges.

As general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union he faced challenges the likes of what had never been known before. These included the intensification of the class struggle under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the defeat of the Kulak class, the defeat of the counter-revolutionary capitalist restorationists in the party, the turning of a backwards agrarian economy into a modern industrialized force, the defeat of Hitlerite reaction and liberation of Europe from fascism.

These incredible successes ensured his name would live forever.

But they also ensured the dishonourable besmirching of his name. .As Stalin himself prophetically envisaged

"I know that after my death a pile of rubbish will be heaped on my grave, but the wind of History will sooner or later sweep it away without mercy".

Willie Gallacher gave further clarity when paying tribute on the passing of our leader "If he had been a petty-bourgeois 'intellectual' he would have lost the revolution and earned the praise of the workers' enemies. But to save the revolution—that was 'rude', 'ruthless'."

His theoretical contributions to the science of Marxism-Leninism must only be matched by Marx and Lenin themselves. He built upon their base, creatively applying their teachings in order to meet the many challenges he, the Soviet people and international working class faced. For it was Stalin whom the task of socialist construction fell to. It was he who faced the greatest and most unenviable tasks.

**Compassionate Leader**

After Lenin's death the CPSU met a fork in the road. The party could continue ahead on Lenin's path to socialism or disembark with a right-turn. Down that road led the enemies in the party, the Trotsky's, Zinoviev's, Kamenev's and Bukharins. This tumultuous period was one of double-dealing political manouvering by these elements. All that remained solid and fixed was Stalin, he remained always, true to Lenin. In contrast Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky alligned against Stalin and the party, in an attempted power grab. They had no plans for socialist construction, only plans to end Stalin.

Similarly, when the Left Opposition were defeated, Bukharin emerged. Initially a supporter of Stalin, the small political vacuum left by the defeat of the Left Opposition presented Bukharin an opportunity. He would now become opponent of Stalin, attacking from the right. The battleground was on agriculture, industrialization and the Kulak question, all being so intertwined. But yet again, the opposition were not content with just opposing Stalin politically. Swiss communist Jules Humbert Droz, a confidant and friend of Bukharin, told us that Bukharin's faction had only one purpose "to make Stalin disappear". The March 1938 trial of the Bloc of Rightists and Trotskyites revealed the extent of the treachery and betrayal of the revolution.

But it should be noted that it took some time to get to this position. As Marxist-Leninists, we of course must learn from successes and errors. If Stalin made an error here, it was his great leniency and compassion. He wanted to think the best of his comrades and forgive their errors.

For it was from 1923, and just prior to Lenin's death that the treachery began. Initially with Trotsky, in a few years Zinoviev and Kamenev were firmly in the Trotskyite camp agitating against the Soviet government. At the XIV Congress of the CPSU they were overwhelmingly politically defeated by Stalin. But they remained in the party, no action was taken against them and Zinoviev was even permitted to hold high office in the COMINTERN. But yet again they attack the government and party by joining the Trotskyite ranks. It was only then, in 1927 that Zinoviev was expelled from the central committee. When the United Opposition ran demonstrations on the 10th anniversary of the revolution, they were expelled from the party. But again, Stalin's leniency was shown, they were allowed to return to the party after admitting their errors. But their anti-party work was then continued. In 1932 they were expelled again. But the next year returned to the party once more. Then in 1934 they were arrested for complicity in the murder of Kirov. This was the leniency and forgiveness of Stalin, in great contrast to the tyrant image manufactured by the bourgeoisie.

In the battles with Bukharin, Stalin exposed the right wing deviation in the CPSU. Where Stalin looked to collectivize agriculture, the right defended Kulak exploitation and a market economy. Where Stalin wanted rapid industrialization, they attempted to slow it down. The interconnectivity of these questions is evident. In 1931 Stalin warned that the Soviets were 50 to 100 years behind the industrialized countries, either they caught up in 10, or they would be crushed. Simply put, collectivization was the mechanism for defeating the remnants of the bourgeois class - the sympathisers of the likely invaders, it allowed the control of grain which could now be exchanged for heavy machinery, which in turn lead to the fastest industrialization in history, which in turn allowed the defeat of the Nazi war machine. The Soviets of course being responsible for defeating 80% of the Nazi troops and for storming Berlin, ended the conflict. Every step of his struggle against the enemies within the communist party had led to this moment. Every victory over Zinoviev etc had allowed Europe to be freed from the Nazi scourge.

**Fighting the Slander**

Despite all of this, his name has been slandered like no other in history. From the bourgoiesie, his name brought fear like no other. Their slander was to be expected as he had defeated fascism, saw socialism spread through eastern Europe and the western communist parties were at their largest and strongest under the guidance of Stalin. He was the undoubted great leader of the era.

But after his death a new regime came to power in the Soviet Union. Nikita Khrushchev's revisionist group set about slandering Stalin. At the 20th congress, Khrushchev made claim after claim against Stalin, all without evidence, and later proven false. But the damage was done. Khrushchev's betrayal had been spread throughout the USSR and picked up by the western bourgeoisie, what a gift this was to them. They were able to demonize Stalin, and attack him, in order to attack socialism. Unfounded claim after unfounded claim was passed as fact regarding Stalin's apparent crimes. Using the Soviet archives, the excellent historian, Professor Grover Furr put it bluntly "Soviet history is falsified the most. I have spent many years researching this and researching similar questions. And I have yet to find one crime, yet to find one crime that Stalin committed."

Today some will say that the disintegration of the Soviet Union is proof of the flaws of Stalin's Marxism-Leninism. But the likely scenario is the Soviet Union disintegrated because the post-Stalin leadership abandoned the Marxist-Leninist line. As after Stalin's death the USSR redirected resources from developing the means of production, to the production of consumer goods. They blunted the international communist movement by removing its great weapon, violent revolution. The Soviet Union now preached the theoretical aberrations of a parliamentary road to socialism and peaceful co-existence with capitalism, a clear break with Marx, Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet Union now talked the game of social democracy, its economy began moving away in the direction from socialism to capitalism. The national question was ignored. All of these led to the Soviet Union's destruction. To survive, the USSR had needed more Stalin, not less.

But again, what jumps out at us is the great compassion of Stalin. It is difficult not to question what may have been had he struggled against the Khrushchev group, to expose them and have them removed from the party. Khrushchev and co. were the first generation of leaders who had joined the party after the revolution. They had joined the communists not when they were in opposition, in threat of death and exile. They joined after the revolution, knowing they were joining a ruling party.

While we look at such possible errors, whether they were errors or not, nothing can detract from the great achievements he made.

The great masses of humanity may never have known Stalin, but their lives have been touched and enriched by his achievements.

And while the slanders of the 20th congress against Stalin led to the split of the international communist movement, it is the new truth emerging on Stalin which can reinvigorate and unite the communist movement. The revisionists can only hide from the truth for so long as Stalin's great work is rediscovered by new generations loyal to the truth, and loyal to Stalin.

Stalin lived, Stalin lives, Stalin will live forever.

**Source**: http://comradejoe.hubpages.com/hub/A-Tribute-to-Stalin-on-the-61st-Anniversary-of-his-Death

# We are at war since many centuries

*(The verses written, in December 2013, at the toppling of Lenin's Statue by the fascists in Ukraine)*

Saad Yousaf Aahni
David Romportl
George Tumaob Calaor

We are at war since many centuries...
At war since the first farmer was oppressed
We are at war since the first woman was raped
At war since the first slave was abused!
When the first person claimed private ownership of a land... we are at war!
At war...
Since the first clergy exploited the innocence of masses
When the first human was sold as a commodity
And since the day when for the first time...
Assets were transferred from father to son we are at war!
This war began...
Since the first man who saw his own life as more valuable than others!
We are at war...!
Since the first man engorged himself as he looked upon the hungry around him
And we are at war...
Since the first freedom fighter was martyred...
and when a man claimed to be God!
MILLIONS OF STATUES WILL FALL AND A MILLION TIMES WE WILL RISE!
And in this war!
We will rise to heights greater than all the depths we have been pushed into...
By those whose bodies and ideas fill those depths!
The graves of exploitation, greed and oppression,
Below the soaring heights of living humanity built free of those always dead ideas!!
And on the graves of exploitation, greed and oppression with fists high...
We will rise under the flaming rays of freedom!
Flags will be waved strongly and it will fly like fire on the wind
That will storm the world of the birth of so selfless equality!
The earth shall reap the fullness of a nameless victory
As our hymn sings our enemies to the very end of their immortal death
For death is theirs to own with eternity!
Theirs to own with no promise of return... on the very date when...
Season of people's war... will completely be won... in the sacred name of...
Revolution!

# Awake!

Bulleh Shah

Awake *poor*, move on.
Trailing its star, the night is gone

Do what you have to, today
You will never be back this way
Comrades are calling. Let's go
Awake *poor*, move on
Trailing its stars, the night is gone

A pearl, a ruby, the touchstone, and dice--
With all that you thirst by the waterside!
Fool, open your eyes. Get up
Awake *poor*, move on
Trailing its stars, the night is gone

Awake!

**Source**: Junoon's Official Website: http://www.junoon.com/jeemography_files/lyrics_files/Parvaaz/Ab_Tu_Jaag.htm. Accessed on Feb 14, 2014.

**NOTE:** The poem is presented here after minor editing. The Editor believes, in the light of the revolutionary teachings of Bulleh Shah, by '*musafir*' or *traveler* the poet here means '*ghareeb*' or *poor* that is used several times as synonymous to *traveler* in the classical literature of the region.

# 64 Years of Struggle

Kamran Abbas

More than a year back when I was surfing the internet, I came across a community on Facebook with the name of "*Stalin Society of Pakistan*". I was surprised to find out about a Stalin Society in Pakistan. After looking at the activities of the group for a few days I contacted Comrade Saad. I felt highly pleased after talking with him and found in him an ideologically strong person and a man who is very clear about all the controversies of pre and post Russian Revolution. When he informed me that Stalin Society of Pakistan was going to start publishing a magazine on a regular basis and the very first one is going to be coming out very soon, I was convinced to contribute in it and thus I decided to write this piece. On this auspicious occasion, first of all I want to congratulate Comrade Saad and his team for all of their efforts for the Society and its magazine.

On this occasion here I also want to share some information with all the members of "Stalin Society of Pakistan" and all the comrades of Stalin all over the world that Pakistan is the land where even in the time of complete darkness and despair after the downfall of the Soviet Union, when all the leftists and progressives were confused and saying that now the world has changed and there is no future of communism, there was a the group of people headed by Comrade Tufail Abbas who stood by their commitment and ideology, and they never made compromises. They have criticized the Soviet Union and they believe that after Stalin, the leadership of the Soviet Union betrayed the revolution. They criticized the People's Republic of China as well for their ideological betrayal, and they refused to be recognized by the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China. They said no to opportunism, but they stood with communist ideology and kept on trying to derive the scientific conclusions in light of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin until they got the books of Enver Hoxha, secretary of Albanian communist party, and they came out of ideological isolation.

These are the people who have been struggling in Pakistan for more than 60 years. Tufail Abbas started his struggle from Karachi in early 1950s with the Orient Airline which is now Pakistan International Airline and with the help of his Comrades Shafiq Ahmed, Azhar Abbas and Zaki Abbas he spread his political work to communities, other localities and all over Pakistan and soon they emerged as a political power. They have struggled against martial law of Ayub Khan; they have organized Qaumi Mazdoor Mahaz, they brought out Urdu monthly with a name of *Manshoor* which is still being publishing and have the credit of being the oldest progressive journal in the country; they have organized Democratic Student Federation and National Student Federation for students and mobilize them, they did social work specially for the empowerment of women; they have set up industrial homes and schools and later computer centers and those centers are still working in different localities and giving education and skills to the people. They have given critical support to Z. A. Bhutto and PPP against Ayub Khan and refused to take 22 national assembly seats when Bhutto offered them. They are the ones who on principle in 1972 quit Pakistan People's Party (PPP) when Bhutto was in absolute power; they are the ones who faced betrayals from their own cadre and friends. They are the ones who were jailed many times and got tortured in the era of dictators as well as under so-called democratic governments, but they are still anchored in the storm and are marching towards the ultimate destination. Now they are working with the name of Pakistan Mazdoor Mahaz, and Tufail Abbas is the chairman of Pakistan Mazdoor Mahaz (PMM) and he is guiding and heading the movement. Chaudry Shaukat is the General Secretary of PMM. Their main work is in labor unions, federations and confederations. They are also publishing their monthly Urdu journal on regular basis with the same name "Manshoor".

Lastly, as being a worker of Pakistan Mazdoor Mahaz and supporter of Stalin and his ideology, I welcome Stalin Society of Pakistan with an open heart and open arms and look forward towards our brothers and sisters in "Stalin Society Pakistan" and "In Defense of Stalin" to come and join hands with Pakistan Mazdoor Mahaz in our struggle for our one and ultimate goal, because we know that the future belongs to us. The future belongs to the masses and workers!

Long Live Communism!
Long Live Stalin!